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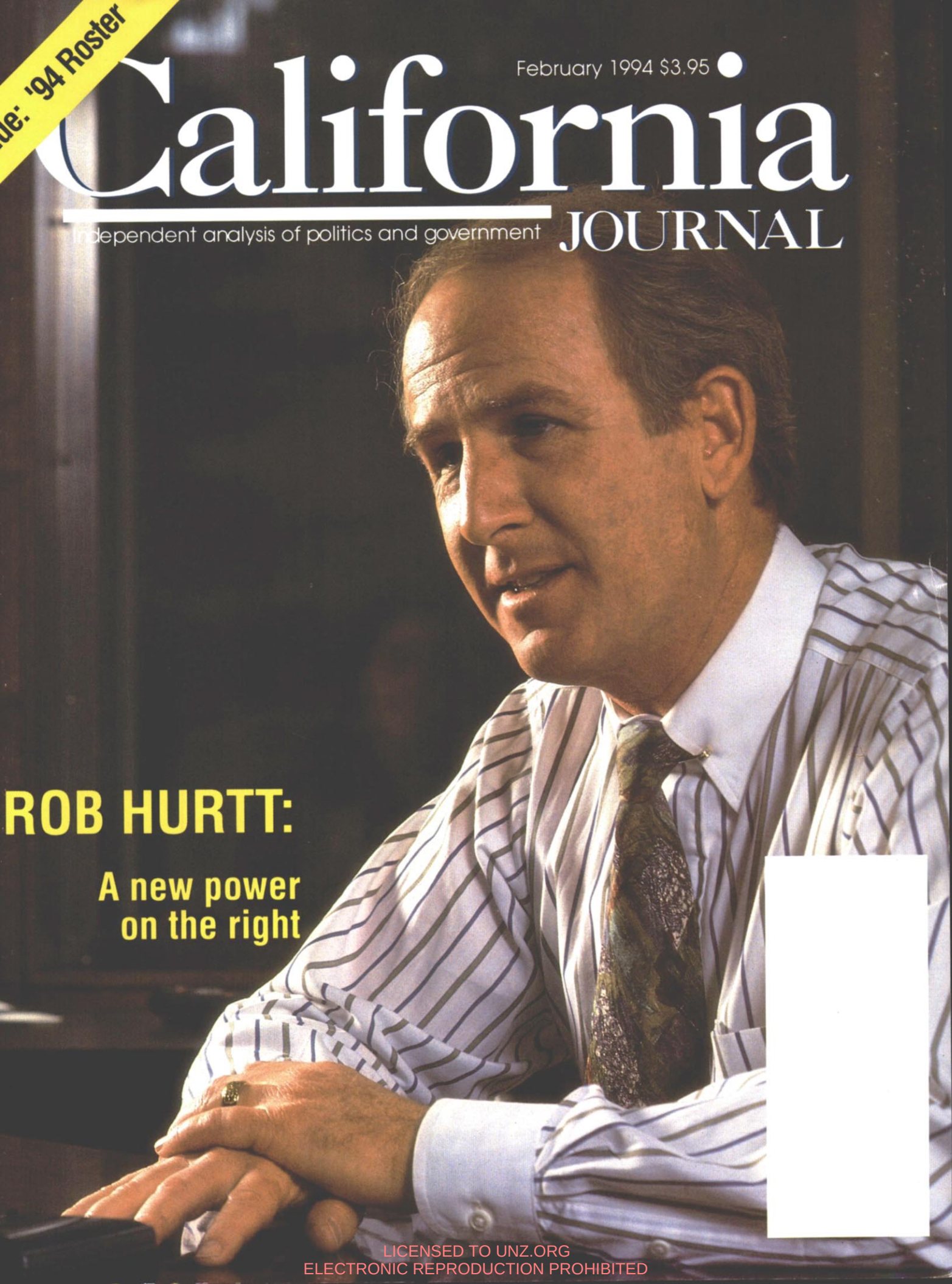
# California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government



## ROB HURTT:

### A new power on the right

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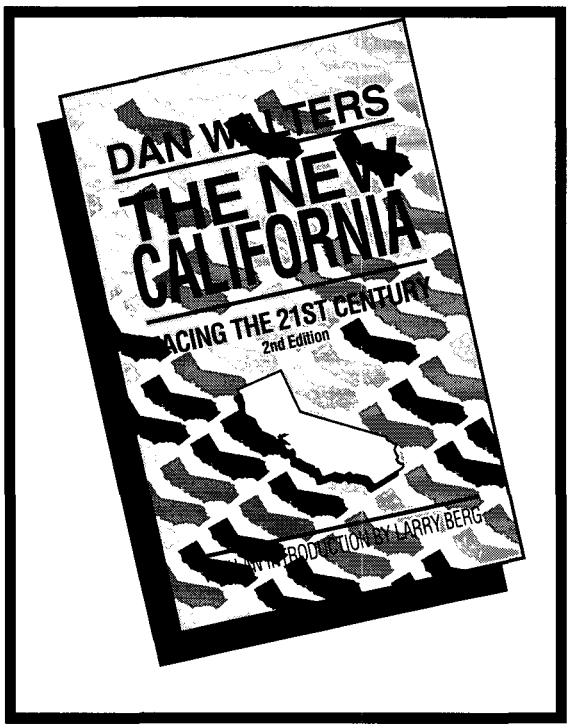


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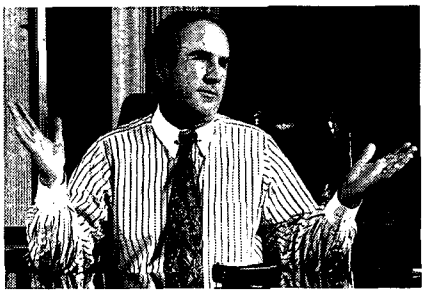

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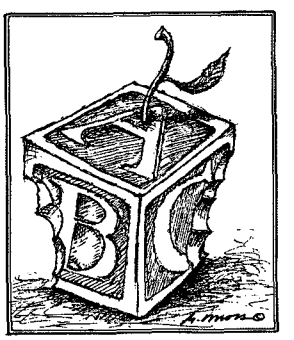

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# Up Front

## UMBRAGE

**Timing is everything.** Unless you spent the past few months on Mars, you know that Hayward's Bill Lockyer should by now have supplanted Van Nuys' David Roberti as Senate president pro tempore. There was no *coup de caucus* to speed along the transition, however, so Roberti, who is running for state treasurer, delayed his departure. It was said that he wanted to remain pro tem through the governor's January crime summit. Lockyer, on the other hand, wanted to be in power when Democratic kingpins gathered at the end of January to plan statewide election strategy for 1994. Meanwhile, events kept getting in the way. First, anti-gun-control forces launched a recall effort against Roberti, announcing that they had gathered enough signatures for the ballot on the very day Roberti was said to be ready to announce that he was stepping down as pro tem. Roberti's attention naturally was diverted, and the transfer to Lockyer postponed. Then, just as the recall buzz settled down, the transfer again was delayed when part of Roberti's Senate district was flattened in last month's Northridge earthquake. The transfer finally was expected at the end of last month, but who knows? For his part, Lockyer said he secured the necessary support to become pro tem without having to promise even one remodeled office, or so much as a single car phone.

**Turnover.** The Assembly currently has 30 members elected in 1992 or later, plus one vacancy to be filled in a special election later this spring (Assembly District 79, vacated last month by Democratic Senator Steve Peace of Chula Vista). In addition, at least 18 other Assembly veterans are expected to leave the lower house in 1994 either to retire or run for some other office. Given that a couple more veterans might be ambushed at ballot-box gulch, more than 60 percent of the Assembly members that gather one year from today will have been on the job for two years or less. Another 10, elected in 1990 or 1991, will have been around for only three or four years. That means that more than two-thirds of the Assembly will have turned over since Proposition 140 imposed term limits on the Legislature in November 1990.

**At least something** went right in California last year. According to *Governing* magazine, two of the top 10 governmental innovations of 1993 came from the Golden State: a Health and Welfare kiosk system for delivering info on state services; and a Los Angeles Coounty telecommunication program that allows some county workers to skip the commute and work at home.

**Island hopping.** Another Californian has been nominated by President Bill Clinton to be ambassador to a small island nation. First, there was Secretary of State March Fong Eu, who currently is undergoing a background check prior to her U.S. Senate confirmation hearing as envoy to Micronesia. Now comes word via *The Washington Monthly*, that Sidney Williams has been nominated by the prez as ambassador to the Bahamas. The post may be a small payback to Williams' wife for her support of Clinton during the rugged 1992 primary campaign. The wife? Representative Maxine Waters of Los Angeles. And it follows a recent tradition of sending a Californian to Nassau; President George Bush's ambassador there was former Assembly Minority Leader Carol Hallett.

**Swap of the month:** lieutenant governor for Congress. And the swapper is Sonny Bono, former Palm Springs mayor and former Cher hubby who said last week that he is giving up his race for second banana and pursuing instead Congressional District 44 where Republican Al McCandless announced recently that he would not seek re-election. Too bad about Sonny. The thought of a GOP primary battle for light guv between Bono, Stan Statham and Cathy Wright had us downright giddy.

**Gang of Zip.** When Democrat Steve Peace was sworn in last month as the newest California state senator, it meant that Rusty Areias is the only member of the old "Gang of Five" left in the Assembly. And Areias is outward bound. It has been nearly six years since the rebel Democrats tried to topple the speakership of Willie Brown Jr., and when the Assembly convenes next year, all will be gone. Peace and Charles Calderon are in the Senate, Gary Condit is in Congress, Jerry Eaves is a San Bernardino County supervisor, and Areias will leave to run for controller. Still around, of course, will be the target of their cabal.

**Come to the sun.** Some folks are worried that last month's Southern California earthquake may have dealt a severe blow to state efforts to attract business. After all, naysayers whine, what CEO will want to locate jobs and plants in an area so laced with trembling ground? Pshaw. Remember that little trip Governor Pete Wilson and legislative leaders took recently to tout the virtues of the Golden State? Remember where they went? We seem to recall that Minneapolis and Chicago were on the tour. One day last month, Minneapolis recorded a wind-chill-aided *high* of -50. On the same day, Chicago's high, sans wind chill, was a robust -18. California may shake, but big temblors only come along every decade or so and last but 30 seconds. A Midwest winter comes every year and drones on from October to May.

"Do not let what you cannot do interfere with what you can do."
— John Wooden

*Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the* Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*



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# Rostrum

LETTERS

## Diatribes

In your "Tribes" commentary bemoaning the balkanization of California by special-interest "tribes" (see "Two-Cents Worth, *CJ*, November 1993), you falsely claim that the cohesiveness of a community resides in its political system. As you said, goverment allegedly unifies "tribes" or special-interest groups where everyone "wins a little," presumedly through a socialist political agenda of wealth redistribution that brings out "the better angels of our nature." But if Karl von Clauswitz is right and war is an extension of politics, then the dissolution of Eastern Europe from Communist control and the civil wars from Bosnia to the former Soviet Union all indicate that politics — i.e., war — actually fosters intense disunity. Moreover, liberal politicians who legislate extra-special rights that discriminate in favor of groups of victimhood, such as minorities or feminists, disenfranchise other communities, further adding to social division. Conversely, it is free enterprise and commerce, as Thomas Paine notes, that enhances unity, which is occurring in the European community, once rife with factional warfare. Thus, for you to laud politics as unifying is ludicrous; unless, of course, you have in mind the kind of "unity" the Soviets and Chinese forged through the barrel of a gun and under tank treads in the 1956 invasion of Hungary and the Tienanmen Square massacre. Indeed, the entire commentary is a specious diatribe, inanely attributing social harmony to the very fountainhead of much U.S. disunity. And the 20th century clearly shows that the socialist attempt of wealth redistribution to bring out the angel in man really brought out a beast in the tune of 100 million deaths — all in the name of world unity.

DON PADGETT
The Claremont Institute

*California Journal* welcomes your comments and opinions on articles that appear in the *Journal*. Please address all correspondence to Editor, *California Journal*, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816. *Journal* editors reserve the right to edit for space


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# Two Cents Worth

COMMENTARY

## Rethinking crime

It's hard to blame Pete Wilson. After all, he's been saddled with the lowest public-opinion rating for a governor in the state's history, the economy still stinks, the state's schools are financially hamstrung, and natural disasters are drawn to him like ants to a picnic. So, being Republican, the governor looked to other public-opinion polls and said, the state was faced with a plague of crime. And the Democratic pretenders stood up and said "me, too."

It's probably too much to expect politicians to discuss the crime issue in a reasonable manner at any time, but in an election season, rational discussion is apparently impossible. Still, if we're going to spend a lot of time on this subject over the next eight months, we ought to put a few facts in order.

First, the Department of Corrections' budget is the fastest growing portion of the state budget — near $4 billion in the coming year, up 8.5 percent. We now have nearly 135,000 people in state prison. It costs nearly $25,000 per year to lock up each inmate, not counting prison construction costs.

Second, at least according to the crime statistics, the crime rate has been relatively flat for a number of years and actually took a dip downward in 1993. Maybe that means locking people up really works. Or maybe it means crime isn't really as much of a problem as politicians say it is.

Third, the most awful crimes — the ones politicians invoke when atop the stump — are rare and trying to prevent them would be expensive.

In his State of the State address, Wilson noted that more than 400 California youngsters are homicide victims each year. Wilson invoked the tragic death of Santa Rosa youngster Polly Klaas and offered that the state should be willing to pay any price to prevent such deaths, asking: "Does anyone want to tell me how much a child's life is worth?"

The answer is that we should be willing to spend a lot to save the lives of children, and for the parent whose child has died, no expense would seem extreme. In reality, a major portion of child murders probably cannot be prevented. More than 20 percent of all child murder victims were killed by a parent or other close relative. Another 30 percent were killed in gang-related activity. Less than 12 percent, 57 in 1992, where akin to the Polly Klaas murder — death by a stranger.

The unfortunate truth is that the state makes life-and-death financial decisions all the time. And those decisions all-too-often are based on political rhetoric. It's a shame that so many children under age 18 (actually about 500 in 1992) are homicide victims. But that figure represents just over 7 percent of all child deaths. In contrast, nearly 45 per cent of all child deaths are the result of birth defects or conditions that originate before birth — many of which can be eliminated by providing adequate prenatal care at costs much lower than putting people in prison.

Wilson has bragged about his efforts to improve spending on prenatal programs. This year's budget proposal, for example, notes that he proposed an additional $5 million for his "Perinatal Initiative," bringing the total to $30 million. That's less than 1 percent of what is spent to lock people up.

How many of lives of children could be saved if only a modest amount of money could be diverted from prisons to these preventive programs? That's a question Pete Wilson and the others faced with elections don't want to answer. There are far fewer votes to be mined from providing health care to pregnant women, especially the poor and low-income.

It's too bad that Wilson and his fellow Republicans aren't willing to subject the state's criminal justice system to the same sort of logic they want to apply to other segments of the public sector. If they did, they might recognize that prison guards, police, and prosecutors, constitute a special-interest group (if it applies to teachers, it applies to cops) with a vested interest in seeing the current system continue and expand. In addition, they might recognize — as they do with welfare — that we are pouring billions and billions into law enforcement and prisons and things aren't really getting any better.

*— Richard Zeiger*

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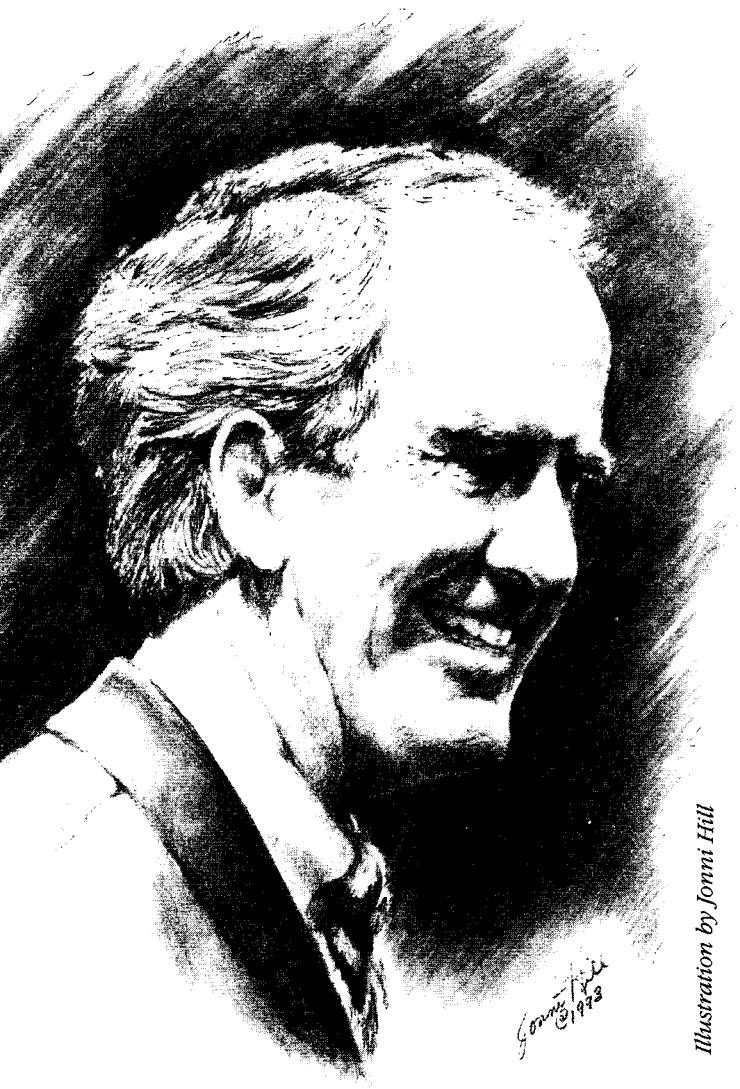

Illustration by Jonni Hill

# Rob Hurtt:

## New power on the right

**By Mary Beth Barber**

In the television series "Star Trek — The Next Generation," there is an enemy called the "Borg", feared more than any other by the heroes of the show. The Borg are a emotionless, robotic people joined in a collective mind and acting as one unit. Individuals don't have names; they are known as "one of five" or "three of six." Their primary mission is to assimilate or destroy all living creatures, and their power is immense.

These days, California Democrats and perhaps some moderate Republicans have their own version of the Borg, or at least the perception of one — a political action committee called Allied Business PAC, which appeared on the scene in 1991. Allied first gained notoriety as a donor of large campaign contributions to conservative Republican candidates, most of whom also had the support of Christian fundamentalist Pat Robertson and his Christian Coalition. From the perspective of Sacramento politics, well-funded conservative Republicans, many of whom took on established moderates in legislative primaries, seemed to pop out of nowhere, and "Allied Business PAC" appeared at or near the top of all these challengers' contribution reports. Thus did the political universe take notice of a nameless, faceless PAC with immense financial power.

On further investigation, it was discovered that the financial power behind Allied came from four wealthy Southern California businessmen with ties to established religious communities; one, for example, owned 18 Christian radio stations throughout the country. Allied became synonymous with "Christian Right," and established Democrats and Republicans alike in Sacramento confronted a power that could turn local elections topsy-turvy.

In 1993 one of the motivating forces behind Allied decided to step out from behind his coin purse and pursue elective office himself. The opportunity for his adventure came when Republican state Senator Ed Royce of Anaheim won a seat in Congress in 1992, and a special election was called in Senate District 32. Thus did Rob Hurtt, Allied's second largest contributor, run for public office.

The election itself was a cakewalk, with Hurtt providing 78 percent of his campaign costs. For California Democrats and those moderate Republicans clinging to power in Sacramento, a name and face had been attached to the Allied Business PAC. In the parlance of Star Trek, Hurtt could be called Allied's "two of four" because his contributions ranked second. "One of four" is Home Savings of America heir Howard Ahmanson Jr. The other members are biking-magazine publishers Roland and Lila Hinz and Christian radio-station owner Ed Atsinger.

Of course, Rob Hurtt isn't a Borg. He's a man who laughs easily with staff when they take away his cigarettes, who likes to talk about the powerful handshake of his Marine Corps' son, and who has a healthy distaste for having his picture taken. When Capitol denizens finally had the chance to meet Hurtt, many were surprised at his personable behavior. "He was so stereotyped during the campaign," as some sort of religious fundamentalist, said GOP Senator Bill Leonard of San Bernardino. "I'm not sure it was ever deserved, but that was the reputation."

Humanity aside, many consider Hurtt's political objective as Borgian; he began Allied, supported unknown conservative candidates and got himself elected to the Senate to shake things up.



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Allied itself was somewhat successful during the 1991-92 election year. According to Common Cause, the public watchdog group that tracks campaign contributions, 12 of the 26 candidates supported by Allied made it into office. More important, nine of those candidates were among the 12 new members of the Assembly Republican Caucus. And 1993, in a host of special elections, Allied improved on its record. Four out of five elections were won by Republicans — and three of those by Allied-supported candidates.

While Hurtt and the others in Allied started out only supporting conservative candidates, they now occasionally support moderate Republicans, especially in districts with a liberal bent where a die-hard conservative could never win. Hurtt endorsed Bruce McPherson in Santa Cruz, for instance, despite the candidate's pro-choice stance on abortion and reputation as a moderate.

Hurtt's primary goal these days seems to be a Republican majority in the Senate, and circumstances have brought that goal within reach. For the first time in decades, the GOP seems within range because 16 of the 20 senators up for election in 1994 are Democrats. With the future of the Senate at stake, Hurtt wants the GOP to take an aggressive, take-no-prisoners attitude when it comes to waging campaigns, and some say he has been frustrated with what appears to be a complacent attitude toward minority status by the current GOP leadership — namely, Senate Minority Leader Ken Maddy of Fresno. To that end, it was rumored that — freshman or no freshman — Hurtt would make a run at Maddy's leadership post last fall.

The first skirmishes — both in the wider arena of the Senate and the narrower confines of the GOP caucus — took place late last year in a special election in San Diego's District 40. The election itself was made necessary when Democrat Waddie Deddeh of Chula Vista retired last summer. Hurtt wanted Republicans to challenge all-out for the seat, even though the Democratic candidate was Assemblyman Steve Peace, who already represented much of the area. From Hurtt's perspective, the Republican caucus wasn't putting enough effort into the election, having decided that Peace was unbeatable in 1994. GOP strategy was hashed out in two caucus meetings last fall — one in Sacramento and another in Ontario — just weeks before the runoff between Peace and GOP candidate Joe Ghougassian, a former staffer in the Reagan White House who also had served as ambassador to the Middle East nation of Qatar. In the end, the caucus supported Ghougassian with a substantial amount of cash. Even more significant, the caucus named a three-member elections committee to ramrod GOP efforts not only in Sacramento but statewide in 1994. Maddy and caucus chairman Leonard were on the new committee. But its chairman was Rob Hurtt.

Some observers speculated that Maddy's leadership was in jeopardy prior to the Ontario meeting, but Hurtt himself dismisses such notions. The only topic on the table was the San Diego Senate seat, said Hurtt.

Ghougassian ultimately lost to Peace on December 28th in a costly race that saw the two sides spend equally and total between them just under $1.6 million.

Maddy embraced Hurtt by naming him as chairman of the caucus' elections committee. It will be difficult for Hurtt to blame Maddy for election losses when Hurtt himself was ostensibly in charge of strategy. Other Republicans think Hurtt has been placed in the perfect position, spending his money and energy on elections.

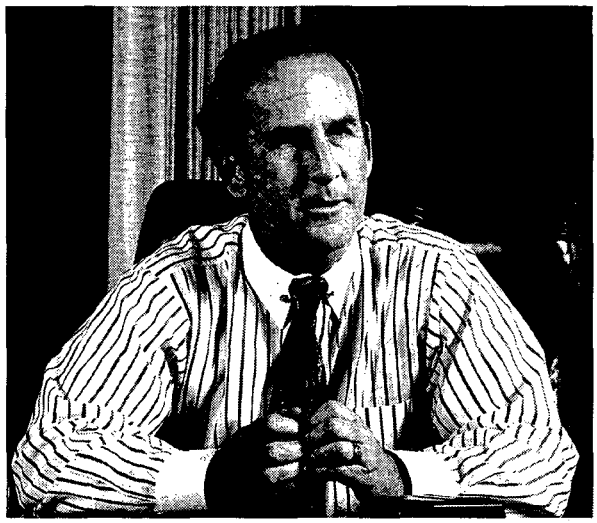
Hurtt claims he never had the chance to raise the leadership issue this past fall. The caucus doesn't vote on such matters until after the 1994 elections, he said who criticized the Senate for its commitment to tradition and previously set rules. No matter how much he might have wanted to question Maddy's leadership, Hurtt said he couldn't do it then and so didn't push the issue.

But Hurtt seems to have misunderstood the rules of the Senate, according to David Kneale, a history clerk with the secretary of the Senate's office. Caucus leadership votes are "internal," said Kneale, who added that there are no Senate rules governing when a caucus may dump its leader in favor of someone else. As Maddy himself said at the time of last fall's caucus meetings, Hurtt never raised the issue because he didn't have the votes to win.

Still, Hurtt's influence within the caucus already has been felt. More important, that influence likely will grow if more and more candidates arrive in Sacramento on the magic carpet of Hurtt's efforts to fund their campaigns. Already, his reputation as a financial powerhouse willing to throw money at elections attracts potential GOP candidates like ants to sugar. "He's basically a business guy looking for a Republican majority," said GOP consultant Wayne Johnson, who often works for conservative candidates.

**His reputation as a financial powerhouse willing to throw money at elections attracts potential GOP candidates like ants to sugar.**

*Photo by Rich Pedroncelli*



Hurtt put it even more simply: "I'm up here because I represent Joe Q. Californian."

Hurtt's critics, of course, have a different view. They wonder how the self-made politician who inherited his business and financed 78 percent of his campaign from the millions in his personal coffer can identify with "Joe Q. Anything." They also take a look at Robertson's Christian Coalition and its resemblance to Allied-backed candidates and ponder if Hurtt and his political cohorts have some sort of social agenda in mind. Hurtt denies it, saying that while he attends United Presbyterian Church in Santa Ana, he's not a bible thumper and resents being accused of having a social agenda.

But speculation plays a large part in the political game. If Republicans gain a majority in



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the Senate, and if Hurtt's money and energy are primarily responsible for the coup, the caucus would have a hard time denying him a leadership position. Still, Hurtt believes that the California economy is too bad for he or his colleagues to pursue a social agenda even if the GOP does become the majority. On the other hand, he wouldn't say that a social agenda *wouldn't* be pursued, just that there wouldn't be time or resources for it.

Democrats still think the Senate will become more confrontational if Hurtt gains power, and they are not above using the fear of Hurtt's influence to conduct campaigns and raise money. Democratic Senator Bill Lockyer of Hayward, thought to be the next president pro tempore once Van Nuys' David Roberti steps down, likes to tell a story about receiving large donations from people who are afraid of Hurtt. "I visited an insurance agent in Los Angeles recently," he told columnist John Jacobs of *The Sacramento Bee*. "When I saw that an entire wall of his office contained photographs of the Holocaust, I understood why he later contributed $75,000." Lockyer thinks the financial power behind Allied — about $3 million in the 1992-93 elections — scared the agent. "Three million dollars makes me nervous," said Lockyer.

Hurtt said that he's angry and appalled at Lockyer's comments, or that they would appear in print. "What, I'm supposed to start the Holocaust or something?" he said. Others like Leonard were surprised at the article as well, and Lockyer has been telling his Senate colleagues that the statement was taken out of context.

For Hurtt, the article was another slam against his Christian beliefs, beliefs that he said do not play a part in his role as a senator. The notion that he's ultra-religious is wrong, he said, and he has no interest in being a California despot. While he believes in traditional two-parent families and supports school vouchers, he doesn't fit the image of a religious demagogue. He's a businessman, he said, nothing more, nothing less. "I smoke and I drink. How [fundamentalist] can I be if I do that?" he wonders.

Hurtt, of course, may be missing the point: reality falls prey to perception when politicians solicit money from contributors, and Democrats may be counting on the perception of a rich, religious loose cannon. Whether it's true or not doesn't really matter to Democrats.

But Hurtt has other problems, as well. Some, including Republicans, are tired of what they see as Hurtt's "holier than thou" attitude. Democrats may dislike and distrust him because of his money and agenda, but more than a few Republicans don't like his personality. Hurtt thinks he knows better than anyone else, said one GOP staffer who asked not to be named. Instead of listening to others in his party, Hurtt dismisses them as "conventional," insisting that he knows better than veterans who have been in the business for years. The San Diego Senate race is a prime example of Hurtt's misjudgment, said a source. The caucus spent a fortune on a seat that was very difficult to win. As one high-ranking GOP legislator noted, "We could have lost it for a whole lot less."

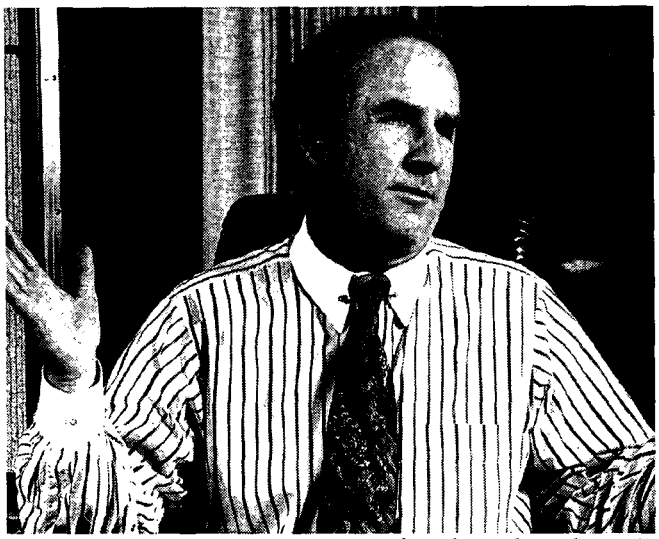

*Photo by Rich Pedroncelli*

**"I smoke and I drink. How [fundamentalist] can I be if I do that?"**

**Rob Hurtt**

Although Democrats focus on the "what ifs" of a Hurtt-dominated Senate, many Republicans dismiss the possibility. He's not well liked, they say. "Abrasive" and "confrontational" are words that come to mind when describing Hurtt, qualities not typical of someone who wants his colleagues to elect him to a leadership position. Hurtt doesn't work with people in the Legislature, nor does he seem trust them. "I thought I'd better come up here and watch them," Hurtt told the *San Francisco Examiner* after winning his Senate seat. "I'm not sure whether these people are going to follow through with what they told me they were going to do."

Yet those who dismiss the chances of an abrasive personality rising to lead a caucus, or a house, need look no farther than Bill Lockyer. The Hayward Democrat was regarded as volatile and abrasive himself half a decade ago, but circumstances — combined with a mellowing on Lockyer's part — have placed him at the pinnacle of Democratic power in the Senate. Hurtt could do the same as more people get to know the person rather than the reputation, said Leonard. His enthusiasm for elections helps him immensely. "I don't rule him out," said Leonard.

Being a senator has started to wear on Hurtt, who has started smoking again after a 13-year abstinence. He knew there would be some hardship being far from home so much of time, leaving his wife Nancy and his four children and two grandchildren for most of the work week. The business he owns and operates — Container Supply Company, which manufactures decorative containers — has been left in the hands of his managers most of the time. But the job of being a senator was a lot more difficult than he imagined. Committees work harder than he thought, and Hurtt was unprepared for the late-night sessions during the budget and before the fall break.

He was also surprised how much he liked the other legislators in Sacramento. "I didn't necessarily think they were good people before I came up here," he said.

Some people who work with Hurtt think he has grown more diplomatic since his first days in office, and more patient.

But critics still grump that he got too used to being in charge as a businessman, and too used to having a financial and career track laid out for him. His father, after all, was the one who started the container business. Young Rob Hurtt



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could do anything or say anything, and he'd still have a job.

Hurtt is aware of the accusations but he doesn't think it applies. "Anytime you're in management, if you don't have good people skills, you're not a good manager." His father insisted he work harder than anyone else at the plant. He had to learn the production work and become adept at managing employees. "You don't get anything accomplished by yelling at people," he said.

At the same time, he feels that other Republicans try too hard to please everyone — a criticism directed especially at Governor Pete Wilson. "I don't think you have to say 'yes' to everybody," said Hurtt. "I think you can start saying 'no' and still get elected."

Hurtt claims he doesn't care if his comments and actions push people the wrong way. "I have a completely different outlook than most of the people up here," he said. "I don't care if I lose. I'm not going to compromise what I'm trying to accomplish because I might lose an election."

Chances of Hurtt losing an election in his very Republican district are slim, especially with his financial backing. He's sensitive about others making a big deal of his money; some Democrats have much more than he does, he pointed out. And he does support the general idea of campaign reform such as a limit on contributions, but not public financing, he said. And as far as funding candidates, everybody has the constitutional right to spend his or her own money, he noted.

Hurtt's greatest nemesis may be the media. He may claim that he doesn't care if he pushes people the wrong way, but he definitely cares about what is in print. He said he found a *Los Angeles Times* article on the "Christian Right" characterized him and Allied unfairly. He has asked reporters to refrain from the religious description. "It has faded," admitted Hurtt.

Overall, Hurtt believes the press isn't listening to him. "I notice that a very small percentage of what I seem to say or talk about gets [printed]. They want to talk about what they want to talk about and not what I want to talk about." The Jacobs column, which referred to the Holocaust, especially offended him. "They always want to go back and print what other people say about me which is totally unsubstantiated and unfounded." He often shuns reporters, or ignores them. The *Journal*, for example, waited for six weeks for an interview, granted only after his staff and Brulte encouraged him to do it.

Hurtt admits he's tentative about speaking to the press. Joe Yocca from his staff explains that he feels he's been quoted out of context too many times. Leonard thinks he's overly suspicious. "I think he shares the stupid conservative Republican belief about the press," that there's a liberal bias and "if they somehow ignore the press they will go away."

Hurtt's future legislative plans are not fully formed. Despite more recent kudos such as being named the 1993 legislator of the year by Orange County Republicans, his previous life may come calling. "I'm not going to make a career out of this," he said. "My business has gone down last year," as much as 15 percent. Whether the drop is due to the recession or his absence is uncertain, but he may have to return to it sooner then he expected. If it continues a downward spiral through '96, he said he wouldn't seek re-election in 1998.

But the "Borg" of Allied supported legislators may be firmly established by then, and another potential leader may emerge from the pack.

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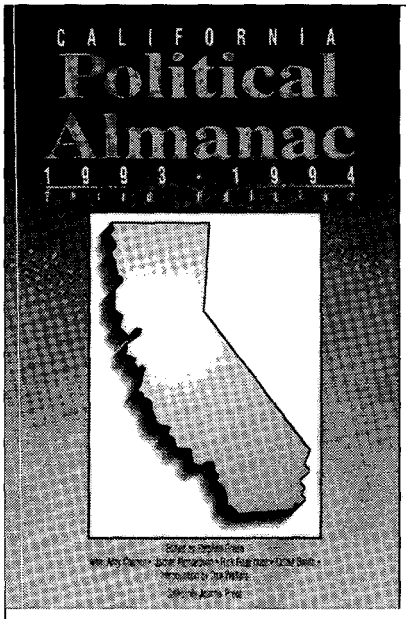


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*Illustration by Washington Post Syndicate*

# Crime issue knocks education out of the spotlight

Laura A. Locke

Last November, many connected with public education in California were genuinely excited about the promise of 1994. The special election on the fate of Proposition 174, the school voucher initiative, had brought the state of K-12 education into a sharper political focus than it had enjoyed for several years. Despite the ringing defeat of their costly and controversial measure at the polls, voucher proponents reminded voters that there was work to be done in the state's schools. Opponents, victorious though they were, were forced to concede that the public's judgment was not a ringing endorsement of the status quo.

Within weeks of the voucher vote, everyone who was anyone in California's political elite weighed in on the subject. Governor Pete Wilson offered up a multi-point plan for school improvement on the very day of the election. His



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plan included retaining a hired-gun consultant (or, in Wilson's words, "education ambassador") named Dr. Frank Newman, who runs a Denver-based education think tank. State Treasurer Kathleen Brown, considered the favorite for the Democratic nomination for governor, also came up with a multi-point plan for school reform. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. announced he would convene an "education summit" in mid-February, modeled after 1993's successful "economic summit." In December, Wilson nominated corporate takeover specialist Sanford Sigoloff to fill the vacant post of state superintendent of public instruction.

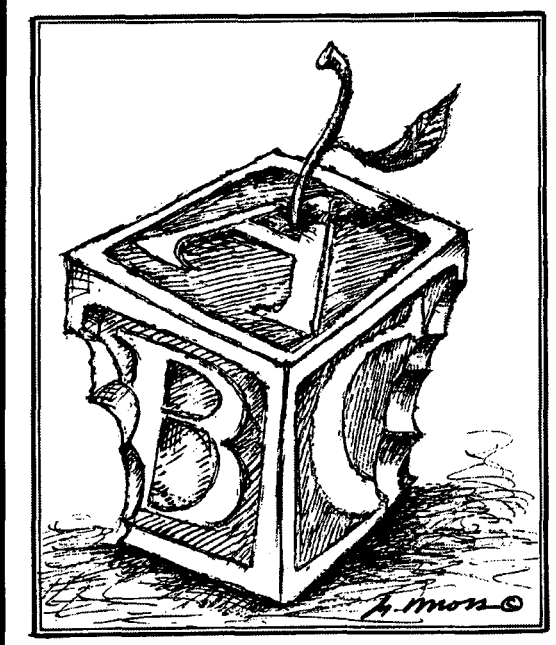

Illustration by Washington Post Syndicate

**"I do not know how you can talk about the state of the state and fail to discuss what's going to happen in education. It's an outstanding omission."**

**Delaine Eastin**

What a difference a few months can make. As the solid defeat of school vouchers fades into the background, it appears education already is being eclipsed by crime and the state budget as issues of primary public and political concern. A measure of how far schools have slipped off the radar screen came in the governor's recent State of the State address: Education merited not one word of mention in a 35-minute speech. Administration officials said there just "wasn't time" during the speech, though the governor did find time to plug his "crime summit," then slated for mid-January but canceled after the Los Angeles earthquake.

"The educational system of this state is over half of the state's budget," said Democratic Assemblywoman Delaine Eastin of Fremont, the only announced candidate for state school superintendent. "I do not know how you can talk about the state of the state and fail to discuss what's going to happen in education. It's an outstanding omission."

If school reform is to again fall through the political cracks, it won't be because it wasn't urgent enough. According to a survey commissioned by Policy Analysis for California Education (PACE), an independent education policy research group, nearly nine out of 10 Californians believe schools need to be changed, and more than two-thirds believe a complete overhaul is in order. The lopsided numbers are not surprising, considering the challenges facing this $30 billion behemoth.

- Of the five million-plus kids who attend school in California, more than a million are limited English-proficient;
- California ranks next-to-last among the 50 states in class size, and has spent time at the bottom of the heap;
- According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress, California students rank near the bottom in reading achievement;
- California schools spend nearly $800 less per-student than the national average, despite having to support the seventh-highest teacher salaries in the country;
- For the first time since the early 1980s, the proportion of high-school students taking the college-prep requirements for the University of California declined.

What makes school reform so elusive is that nobody can quite agree on the target. Terms like "education reform" and "restructuring" are continuously bandied about, but the terms mean different things to different people. Some reformers, like those who backed last year's voucher initiative, center their attention on the governance of schools and school districts. Reformers within the system — such as teachers' unions, administrators and school boards — tend to focus their gaze on finances (or lack thereof). Still others, particularly in the religious community, target curriculum reform as their top priority. "Reform" also covers such topics as revamped textbooks, educational technology and even self-esteem courses.

"Education is a conflict of values," said Michael Kirst, professor of education at Stanford University. "People want different things from the schools and reformers always want something different than what they are getting."

Semantic distinctions are not the only roadblocks to reform. Education has been polarized and paralyzed by a complex web of political agendas — sometimes interlocking, sometimes conflicting. In high-profile fights, such as those involving funding or last year's voucher campaign, key interest groups such as teachers and administrators band together, forming what's euphemistically described as "the Unusual Coalition." When it comes to the details of reform, however, these interests splinter and spin to reflect their own self interest. Talk to the California Teachers' Association, the state's largest teachers union, and you'll hear a lot of talk about the "respect" their profession deserves. Talk to the California School Boards Association,



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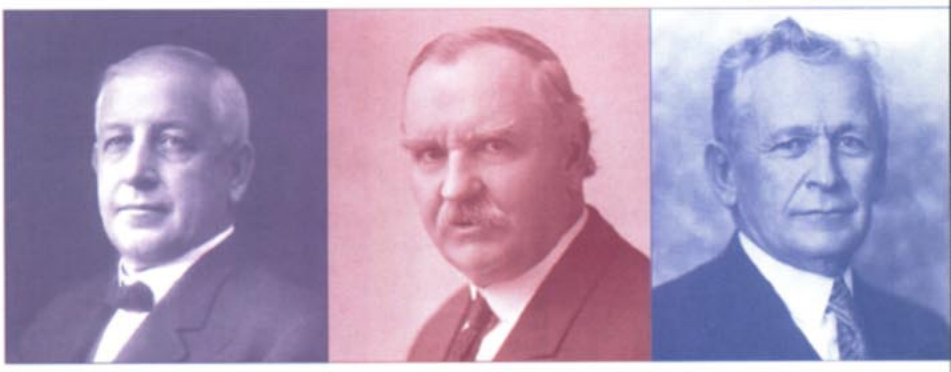

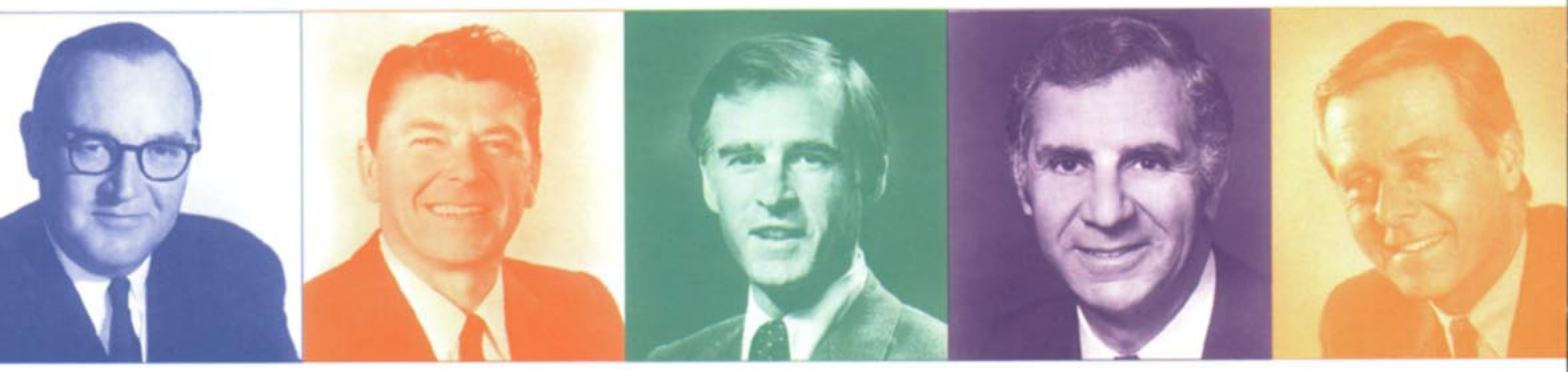

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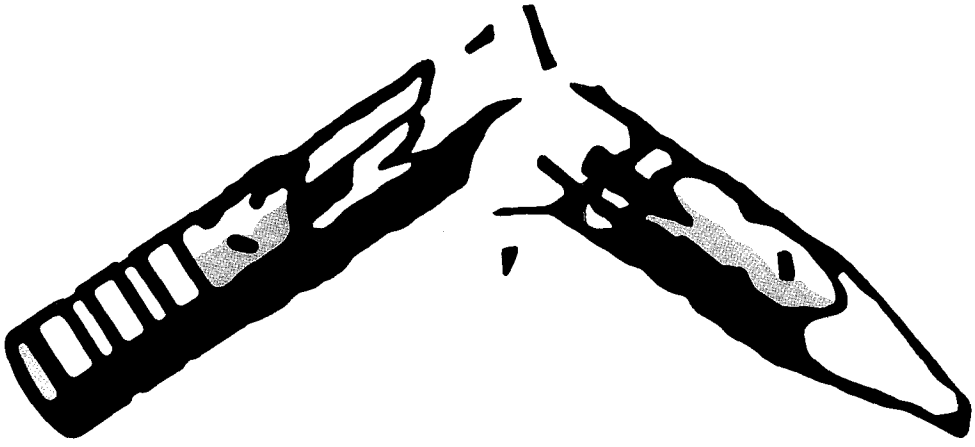

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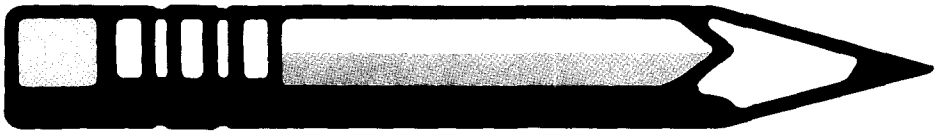

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Sacramento 95814 445-0307
Fax: 323-4989

**Department of Conservation**
Dir: Edward G. Heidig
801 K St 24th Flr
Sacramento 95814 322-1080
Fax: 445-0732

**Department of Fish and Game**
Dir: Boyd Gibbons
1416 9th St 12th Flr
Sacramento 95814 653-7667
Fax: 653-1856

**Board of Forestry**
Chmn: Robert J. Kerstiens
Exec Off: Dean Cromwell
Box 944246
Sacramento 94244-2460 653-8007
Fax: 653-0989

**Department of Forestry and Fire Protection**
Dir: Richard A. Wilson
1416 9th St #1505
Sacramento 95814
Box 944246
Sacramento 94244-2460 653-5121
Fax: 653-4171

**Mining and Geology Board**
Chmn: Vacant
Exec Off: Denise M. Jones
801 K St 24th Fl MS 24-01
Sacramento 95814 322-1082

**Department of Parks and Recreation**
Dir: Donald W. Murphy
1416 9th St #1405
Sacramento 95814 653-8380
Fax: 653-3903

**San Francisco Bay Conservation and Develoment Commission**
Chmn: Robert R. Tufts
Exec Dir: Alan R. Pendleton
30 Van Ness Ave #2011
San Francisco 94102 (415) 557-3686
Fax: (415) 557-3767

**California Tahoe Conservancy**
Exec Off: Dennis Machida
Box 7758
South Lake Tahoe 96158 542-5580
Fax: 542-5591

**Department of Water Resources**
Dir: David N. Kennedy
1416 9th St #1115-1
Sacramento 95814 653-7007

**Wildlife Conservation Board**
Chmn: Benjamin Biaggini
Exec Dir: W. John Schmidt
801 K St #806
Sacramento 95814 445-8448
Fax: 323-0280

**California Wildlife Foundation**
Chmn: William J. Spain
Exec Dir: Vacant
Box 18-9577
Sacramento 95818 455-0636
Fax: 455-0636

## STATE AND CONSUMER SERVICES AGENCY

*Kozberg*

Agency Secy: Joanne Corday Kozberg
915 Capitol Mall #200
Sacramento 95814 653-3817

**Building Standards Commission**
Chmn: Joanne Kozberg
Exec Dir: Richard T. Conrad
428 J St #450
Sacramento 95814 323-6363
Fax: 443-6008

**Department of Consumer Affairs**
Dir: Jim Conran
*400 R St #3000*
Sacramento 95814-6200 445-1254
Fax: 445-8796

**Department of Fair Employment and Housing**
Dir: Nancy Gutierrez
2014 T St #210
Sacramento 95814 227-2873
Fax: 227-2870

**Fair Employment and Housing Commission**
Chmn: Osias G. Goren
1390 Market St #410
San Francisco 94102-5377 (415) 557-2325
Fax: (415) 557-0855

**State Fire Marshal**
Fire Marshal: Ronny J. Coleman
7171 Bowling Dr #600
Sacramento 95823 262-1870
Fax: 262-1942

**California Franchise Tax Board**
Chmn: Gray Davis
Exec Off: Gerald H. Goldberg
Box 1468
Sacramento 95812-1468 369-4543
Fax: 369-3191

**Department of General Services**
Dir: John Lockwood
1325 J St #1910
Sacramento 95814-2928 445-3441
Fax: 323-6567

**California Museum of Science and Industry**
Exec Dir: Jeffrey N. Rudolph
700 State Dr
Los Angeles 90037 (213) 744-7484
Fax: (213) 744-2034

(Continued on page 6)



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(Continued from page 5)

**State Personnel Board**
Exec Off: Gloria Harmon
801 Capitol Mall
Sacramento 95814 653-1028
Fax: 653-0927

**Public Employees Retirement System**
Board Pres: William D. Crist
Exec Off: Dale M. Hanson
400 P St
Sacramento 95814 326-3829
Fax: 326-3410

**State Teachers Retirement System**
CEO: James Mosman
7667 Folsom Blvd
Sacramento 95826 387-3700
Fax: 387-3704

**Department of Veterans Affairs**
Dir: Col. Jay Vargas, USMC, (Ret.)
1227 O St
Sacramento 95814 653-2573
Fax: 653-2456

## TRADE AND COMMERCE AGENCY

*Wright*

Agency Secy: Julie Meier Wright
801 K St #1700
Sacramento 95814 322-1394
Fax: 322-3524

**California Film Commission**
Dir: Patti Stolkin Archuletta
6922 Hollywood Blvd #600
Hollywood 90028 (213) 736-2465
Fax: (213) 736-2522

**California Division of Tourism**
Dir: John Poimiroo
801 K St #1600
Sacramento 95814 322-2881
Fax: 322-3402

**World Trade Commission**
Exec Dir: Richard H. Davis
801 K St #1700
Sacramento 95814-3520 324-5511
Fax: 324-5791

## YOUTH AND ADULT CORRECTIONAL AGENCY

*Sandoval*

Agency Secy: Joe Sandoval
1100 11th St #400
Sacramento 95814 323-6001
Fax: 442-2637

**Board of Corrections**
Exec Off: Thomas E. McConnell
600 Bercut Dr
Sacramento 95814 445-5073
Fax: 327-3317

**Department of Corrections**
Dir: James H. Gomez
1515 S St #351
Sacramento 95814 445-7688
Fax: 322-2877

**Board of Prison Terms**
Chmn: James W. Nielsen
Exec Off: Theodore R. Rich
428 J St 6th Floor
Sacramento 95814 322-6366
Fax: 445-5242

**Youth Authority**
Dir: William Kolender
4241 Williamsbourgh Dr
Sacramento 95823 262-1480
Fax: 262-1483

**Youthful Offender Parole Board**
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**Accountancy, Board of**
Exec Off: Carol Sigmann
2135 Butano Dr #112
Sacramento 95825 574-2155
Fax: 574-2289

**Aging, Commission on**
Chair: Betty Kozasa
Interim Exec Dir: Linda Varvaroff
1020 9th St #260
Sacramento 95814 322-5630
Fax: 327-1859

**Agricultural Labor Relations Board**
Chair: Bruce J. Janigian
Gen Cnsl: Donald S. Pressley
915 Capitol Mall 3rd Flr
Sacramento 95814 653-3741
Fax: 653-2743

**Alcoholic Beverage Control Appeals Board**
Chmn: Edward M. Davis
Chf Cnsl: William B. Eley
1001 6th St #401
Sacramento 95814 445-4005
Fax: 323-2760

**State Allocation Board**
Chmn: Russell Gould
Exec Off: Oscar Wright
501 J St #350
Sacramento 95814 445-3377
Fax: 324-0623

**Architectural Examiners, Board of**
Exec Off: Stephen P. Sands
400 R St #4000
Sacramento 95814 445-3394
Fax: 445-8524

**State Athletic Commission**
Chmn: Bill Eastman
Exec Off: Richard DeCuir
1424 Howe Ave #33
Sacramento 95825-3217 263-2195
Fax: 263-2197

**Automotive Repair, Bureau of**
Chf: James Richard Schoning
400 R St, #3000
Sacramento 95814 445-7964
Fax: 324-4298

**Barbering and Cosmetology, Board of**
Exec Off: Olivia Guebara
400 R St #4080
Sacramento 95814 445-7061
Fax: 445-8893

**Behavioral Science Examiners, Board of**
Chmn: Tom Knudsen
Exec Off: Kathleen Callanan
400 R St #3150
Sacramento 95814-6240 445-4933
Fax: 323-6835

**California State University**
Chmn. Trustees: Anthony M. Vitti
Chancellor: Barry Munitz
400 Golden Shore
Long Beach 90802-4275
(310) 985-2500
Fax: (310) 985-2641

**Chiropractic Examiners, Board of**
Chmn: Louis E. Newman, D.C.
Exec Dir: Vivian R. Davis
3401 Folsom Blvd #B
Sacramento 95816-5354 227-2790
Fax: 227-2798

**Community Colleges**
Pres, Board of Gov: Larry Toy
Chancellor: David Mertes
1107 9th St
Sacramento 95814 445-8752
Fax: 323-9478

**Contractors State License Board**
Chmn: Mrs. Phil Moore
Exec Asst: Joyce May
9835 Goethe Rd
Sacramento 95827 255-3900

**Control, State Board of**
Chmn: John Lockwood
Exec Off: Austin Eaton
630 K St
Sacramento 95814 445-1541
Fax: 327-2933

**Dental Examiners, Board of**
Pres: Stephen Yuen, DDS
Exec Off: Georgetta Coleman
1432 Howe Ave #85
Sacramento 95825-3241 263-2322
Fax: 263-2140

**Developmental Disabilities, State Council on**
Chmn: Nancy Clyde
Exec Dir: Roberta A. Marlowe
2000 O St #100
Sacramento 95814 322-8481
Fax: 443-4957

**Education, State Board of**
Pres: Marion McDowell
Exec Dir: Greg Geeting
721 Capitol Mall #532
Sacramento 95814 657-5478
Fax: 653-7016

**Energy Commission**
Chmn: Charles R. Imbrecht
Exec Dir: B.B. Blevins
1516 9th St
Sacramento 95814 654-5000
Fax: 654-4420

**California Exposition and State Fair Board**
Chmn: Jack Coffey
Interim Gen Mgr: Vacant
1600 Exposition Blvd
Sacramento 95815 263-3021
Fax: 263-3304

**Fair Political Practices Commission**
Chmn: Ben Davidian
Exec Dir: Wayne Ordos
428 J St
Sacramento 95814 322-5901
Fax: 327-2026

**Fish and Game Commission**
Pres: Albert Taucher
Exec Dir: Robert R. Treanor
1416 9th St Box 944209
Sacramento 94244-2090 653-4899
Fax: 653-1856

**California Forest Products Commission**
Pres: Carol Crow
2150 River Plaza Dr #325
Sacramento 95833 568-1141
Fax: 568-1144

**Horse Racing Board**
Chmn: Ralph M. Scurfield
Exec Secy: Roy C. Wood Jr.
1010 Hurley Wy #190
Sacramento 95825 263-6000
Fax: 263-6042

**Industrial Welfare Commission**
Chmn: Lynnel Pollock
Exec Off: Karla M. Yates
Box 420603
San Francisco 94142-0603
(415) 703-3820

**Lottery Commission**
Chmn: Ed Lammerding
Interim Dir: Del Pierce
600 N 10th St
Sacramento 95814 323-0400
Fax: 323-7087

**California Maritime Academy**
Pres: Mary E. Lyons
Box 1392
Vallejo 94590 (707) 648-4200
Fax: (707) 648-5313

**Medical Assistance Commission**
Chmn: Dr. Albert L. Anderson
Exec Dir: Byron Chell
1121 L St #300
Sacramento 95814 324-2726
Fax: 324-5597

**Medical Board of California**
Pres: Dr. Jacquelin Trestrail
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Pres: Thomas R. Nagy
Exec Off: Karen L. Ollinger
400 R St #3130
Sacramento 95814-6200 323-8720

**Osteopathic Medical Board of California**
Pres: Richard T. Pitts
Exec Dir: Linda J. Bergmann
444 N 3rd St #A-200
Sacramento 95814 322-4306
Fax: 327-6119

**Park and Recreation Commission**
Chmn: Pauline DesGranges
1416 9th St #1405
Sacramento 95814 653-0524
Fax: 657-3903

**Pharmacy, Board of**
Pres: Raffi Simonian
Exec Off: Patricia F. Harris
400 R St #4070
Sacramento 95814 445-5014
Fax: 327-6308

**Postsecondary Education Commission**
Chmn: Henry Der
Exec Dir: Warren Halsey Fox
1303 J St #500
Sacramento 95814-2938 445-7933
Fax: 327-4417

**Prison Industry Authority**
Gen Mgr: David King
560 E Natoma St
Folsom 95630-2200 355-0170
Fax: 355-0125

**Private Postsecondary Education and Vocational Education, Council for**
Chmn: Woodrow W. Smith
Exec Dir: Kenneth A. Miller
1027 10th St 4th Flr
Sacramento 95814-3517 445-3427
Fax: 323-6571

**Public Employment Relations Board**
Chmn: Sue Blair
Admin Off: Eileen Potter
1031 18th St
Sacramento 95814 322-3198
Fax: 327-7955

**Public Utilities Commission**
Pres: Daniel Wm. Fessler
Exec Dir: Neal J. Shulman
505 Van Ness Ave
San Francisco 94102 (415) 703-1282
Fax: (415) 703-1758

**Reclamation Board**
Pres: Wallace McCormack
Gen Mgr: Raymond E. Barsch
1416 9th St #455-6
Sacramento 95814-5594 653-5434
Fax: 653-5805

**Registered Nursing, Board of**
Pres: Harriett W. Clark
Exec Off: Ruth Ann Terry
400 R St #4030
Sacramento 95814 322-3350

**Seismic Safety Commission**
Chmn: Wilfred Iwan
Exec Dir: L. Thomas Tobin
1900 K St #100
Sacramento 95814 322-4917
Fax: 322-9476

**State Govt Org. & Economy (Little Hoover Commission), Milton Marks Commission on**
Chmn: Nathan Shapell
Exec Dir: Jeannine English
660 J St #260
Sacramento 95814 445-2125
Fax: 322-7709

**State Lands Commission**
Chmn: Gray Davis
Exec Off: Charles Warren
Chf Cnsl: Robert C. Hight
1807 13th St
Sacramento 95814 322-7777
Fax: 322-3568

**Status of Women, Commission on the**
Chmn: Marjorie Hansen Shaevitz
Exec Dir: Pat Towner
1303 J St #400
Sacramento 95814 445-3173
Fax: 322-9466

**Student Aid Commission**
Chmn: Michael Carona
Exec Dir: Samuel M. Kipp III
Box 510845
Sacramento 94245-0845 322-1904
Fax: 323-4483

**Teacher Credentialing, Commission on**
Chmn: Jerilyn R. Harris
Exec Dir: Philip A. Fitch
1812 9th St
Sacramento 95814 445-0184
Fax: 327-3166

**Transportation Commission**
Chmn: Vacant
Exec Dir: Robert I. Remen
1120 N St #2221
Sacramento 95814 654-4245
Fax: 653-2134

**Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board**
Chmn: Robert Harvey
Chf Cnsl: Randy Petersen
2400 Venture Oaks #300
Sacramento 95833 263-6783
Fax: 263-6836

**University of California**
Chmn, Bd of Regents: Howard H. Leach
Pres: J.W. Peltason
300 Lakeside Dr
Oakland 94612 (510) 987-0700
Fax: (510) 987-9165

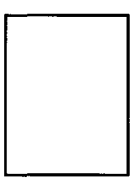
**Water Commission, California**
Chmn: Audrey Z. Tennis
Exec Off: Raymond Barsch
1416 9th St #1104-4
Sacramento 95814 653-5958
Fax: 653-9745

**Workers' Compensation Appeals Board**
Chmn: Diana Marshall
455 Golden Gate Ave #2154
San Francisco 94102 (415) 703-1700

# BOARD OF EQUALIZATION

(All numbers 916 area code unless otherwise noted)
450 N St #2329
Sacramento 95814 445-2636

**District 1**
**Vacant**
450 N St 23rd Fl
Sacramento 95814 445-6464



**District 2**
**Brad Sherman**
901 Wilshire Blvd #210
Santa Monica 90401-1856
(310) 451-5777
Fax: (310) 458-9088

**District 3**
**Ernest J. Dronenburg Jr.**
110 West C Street #1709
San Diego 92101-3966
(619) 237-7844
Fax: (619) 237-7229

**District 4**
**Matthew K. Fong**
13200 Crossroads Pkwy N450
City of Industry 91746
(310) 908-0524
Fax: (310) 908-0534

**Ex-Officio Member**
**Gray Davis**
300 Capitol Mall 18th Flr
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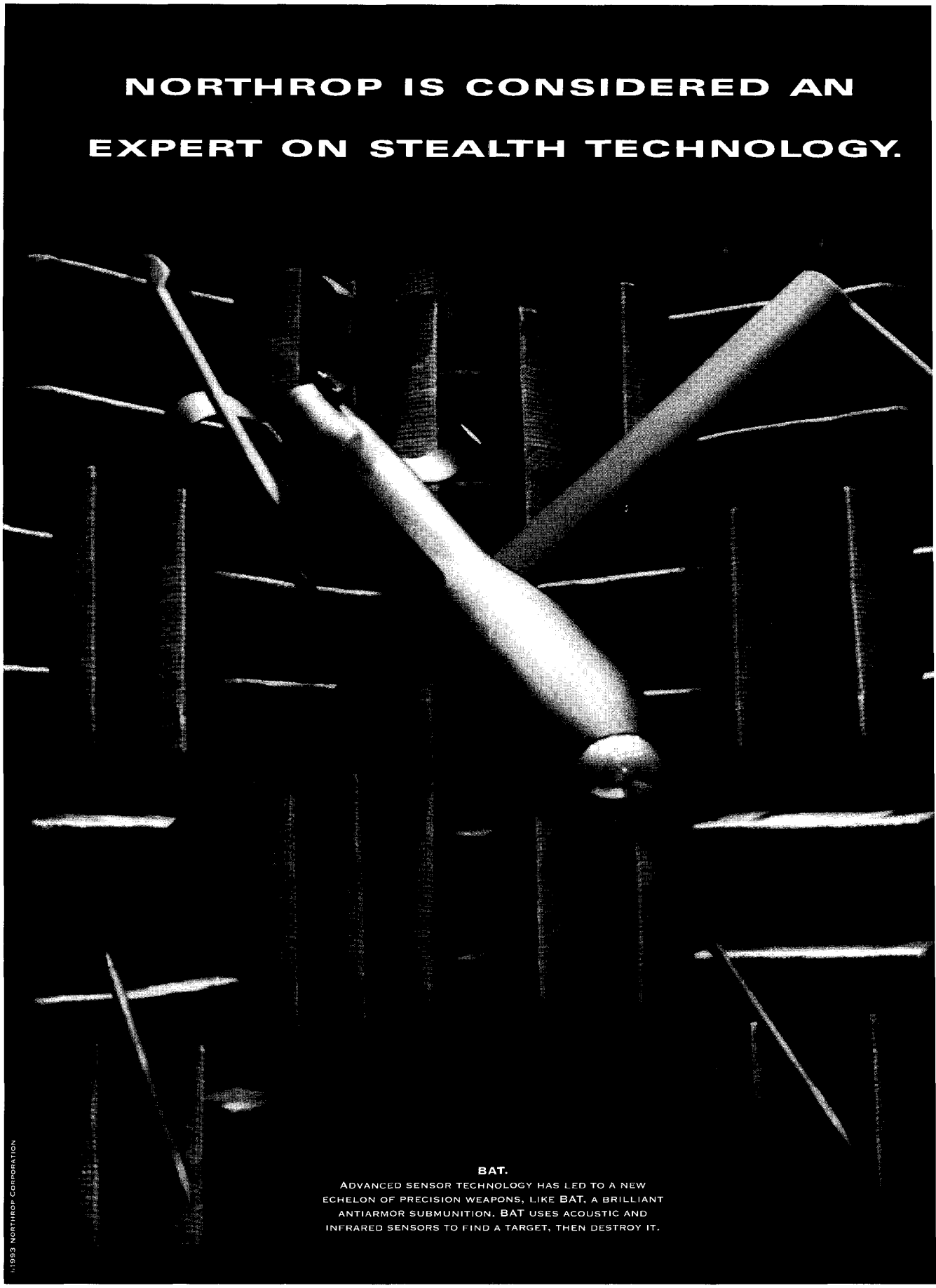
# NORTHROP IS CONSIDERED AN EXPERT ON STEALTH TECHNOLOGY.



**BAT.**

ADVANCED SENSOR TECHNOLOGY HAS LED TO A NEW ECHELON OF PRECISION WEAPONS, LIKE BAT, A BRILLIANT ANTIARMOR SUBMUNITION. BAT USES ACOUSTIC AND INFRARED SENSORS TO FIND A TARGET, THEN DESTROY IT.

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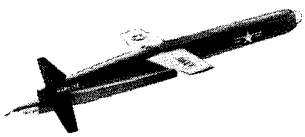
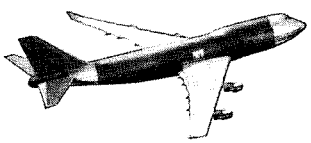
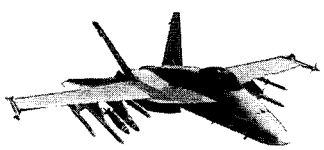
# MAYBE THAT'S WHY PEOPLE HAVE SUCH A HARD TIME SEEING EVERYTHING ELSE WE DO.



**UNMANNED VEHICLES.**
NORTHROP IS A LEADER IN PRODUCING UNMANNED VEHICLES LIKE GROUND-TO-AIR AND AIR-TO-AIR TARGET DRONES AND DECOYS. AND HAS BEEN SINCE THE 1950s.



**LARGE AIRFRAME STRUCTURES.**
NORTHROP HAS BUILT THE FUSELAGE FOR EVERY 747. THAT'S MORE THAN 1,000 AIRCRAFT OVER 26 YEARS.



**F/A-18.**
NORTHROP IS THE PRINCIPAL SUBCONTRACTOR ON THIS KEY MULTI-ROLE AIRCRAFT. AND WILL BE ON THE ENHANCED F/A-18 E/F, THE PLANNED CENTERPIECE OF 21ST-CENTURY NAVAL AIR.

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**Minority Floor Leader:** ..... Jim Brulte (R)
**Minority Whip:** ..... Ted Weggeland (R)
**Democratic Caucus Chairman:** ..... Jim Costa (D)

*Brulte*

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Fax: (916) 445-0385
COS: Jim Richardson
304 West F St
Ontario 91762 (909) 984-7741
Fax: (909) 984-6695
Dist Coord: Carolyn Owens

**Barbara Alby (R-5)**
Elected: 1993 Term Limit: 1996
4116 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-4445
Fax: (916) 323-9411
COS: Bill Saracino
4811 Chippendale Dr #501
Sacramento 95841 (916) 349-1995
Fax: (916) 349-1999
AA: Ken Bell

**Doris Allen (R-67)**
Elected: 1982 Term Limit: 1996
4153 Capitol Building (916) 445-6233
Fax: (916) 445-2751
AA: Thomas Chin
16052 Beach Blvd #160
Huntington Beach 92647
(714) 843-9855
Fax: (714) 843-6375
Field Rep: Cathy Sullivan

**Deirdre "Dede" Alpert (D-78)**
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3173 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-2112
Fax: (916) 445-4001
COS: Tracy Fairchild
1350 Front St #6013
San Diego 92101 (619) 234-7878
Fax: (619) 233-0078
Field Rep: Jimmy Jackson

**Dean Andal (R-17)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
4167 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7931
Fax: (916) 327-3519
AA: Kelley Smith
31 E Channel St #306
Stockton 95202 (209) 948-7479
Fax: (209) 465-5058
Field Rep: John Martini

**Marguerite Archie-Hudson (D-48)**
Elected: 1990 Term Limit: 1996
5016 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-2363
Fax: (916) 323-9640
COS: James Lites
700 State Dr #103
Los Angeles 90037 (213) 745-6656
Fax: (213) 745-6722
Dist Adm: Karen Earl

**Rusty Areias (D-28)**
Elected: 1982 Term Limit: 1996
5136 Capitol Building (916) 445-7380
Fax: (916) 327-7105
COS: Barry Wyatt
365 Victor St #L Salinas
93907-2044 (408) 422-4344
Fax: (408) 422-1571
AA: Jennie Verardo

**Joe Baca (D-62)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
5128 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7454
Fax: (916) 324-6980
Leg Aide: Berman Obaldia
201 No E St #201
San Bernardino 94201
(909) 885-2222
Fax: (909) 888-5959
Chf AA: Pete R. Luna

**Tom Bates (D-14)**
Elected: 1976 Term Limit: 1996
446 Capitol Building (916) 445-7554
Fax: (916) 445-6434
Chf Cnslt: Dion Aroner
3923 Grand Ave
Oakland 94610 (510) 428-1423
Fax: (510) 428-1599
Leg Aide: Judith H. DeVries

**Paula Boland (R-38)**
Elected: 1990 Term Limit: 1996
3098 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8366
Fax: (916) 322-2005
Leg Asst: Kris Frank
10727 White Oak #124
Granada Hills 91344 (818) 368-3838
Fax: (818) 885-3307
COS: Scott Wilk

**Julie Bornstein (D-80)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
2179 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-5416
Fax: (916) 323-5190
COS: Steve Schwartz
72880 Fred Waring Dr #A-4
Palm Desert 92260 (619) 568-0408
Fax: (619) 568-1501
COS: Martin Pinon

**Debra Bowen (D-53)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
3126 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8528
Fax: (916) 327-2201
Leg Asst: Evan Goldberg
18411 Crenshaw Blvd #280
Torrance 90504 (310) 523-4831
Fax: (310) 523-4972
COS: Steve Gray-Barkan

**Larry Bowler (R-10)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
3147 Capitol Building (916) 445-7402
Fax: (916) 324-0013
Leg Asst: Junay Gardner
10370 Old Placerville Rd #106
Sacramento 95827 (916) 362-4161
Fax: (916) 362-4164
COS: Don Ediger

**Vivien Bronshvag (D-6)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
4139 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7783
Fax: Will not disclose
Cnslt: Catlin O'Halloran
100 Smith Ranch Rd #308
San Rafael 94903 (415) 479-4920
Fax: (415) 479-2123
Field Rep: Don Bennett

**Valerie Brown (D-7)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
2130 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8492
Fax: (916) 322-0674
COS: John Latimer
50 D St #301
Santa Rosa 95404 (707) 546-4500
Fax: (707) 546-9031
Off Mgr: Therese Gallagher

**Willie L. Brown Jr. (D-13)**
Elected: 1964 Term Limit: 1996
219 Capitol Building (916) 445-8077
Fax: (916) 445-4189
COS: Michael Galizio
455 Golden Gate Ave #2220
San Francisco 94102 (415) 557-0784
Fax: (415) 557-8936
Chf Asst: Victoria Jee

**Jim Brulte (R-63)**
Elected: 1990 Term Limit: 1996
2114 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8490
Fax: (916) 323-8544
COS: Bishop Bastien
10681 Foothill Blvd #325
Rancho Cucamonga 91730
(909) 466-9096
Fax: (909) 466-9892
AA: Doug Glaeser

**John Burton (D-12)**
Elected: 1988 Term Limit: 1996
3152 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8253
Fax: (916) 324-4899
Sr Cnslt: Cathleen R. Gardella
455 Golden Gate Ave #2202
San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-2253
Fax: (415) 557-2592
Dist Mgr: Melanie Blum

**Cruz M. Bustamante (D-31)**
Elected: 1993 Term Limit: 1998
4144 Capitol Building (916) 445-8514
Fax: (916) 324-7129
Staff Dir: Dan Eaton
2550 Mariposa #5006
Fresno 93721 (209) 445-5532
Fax: (209) 445-6006
Field Rep: Kathryn Eide


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**Louis Caldera (D-46)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
2176 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-4843
Fax: Will not disclose
COS: Jim Gelb
304 S Broadway St #580
Los Angeles 90013 (213) 680-4646
Fax: (213) 680-1851
Dist Dir: Jeri Okamoto

**Robert Campbell (D-11)**
Elected: 1980 Term Limit: 1996
2163 Capitol Building (916) 445-7890
Fax: (916) 327-2999
Chf CO: Bettina Redway
815 Estudillo St
Martinez 94553 (510) 372-7990
Fax: (510) 372-0934
COS: Maria Theresa Viramontes

**Sal Cannella (D-26)**
Elected: 1990 Term Limit: 1996
5155 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8570
Fax: (916) 445-8849
COS: Charles Wright
384 E Olive Ave #2
Turlock 95380
(209) 669-6115
Fax: (209) 669-0349
Field Rep: Julie Tremayne

**Tom Connolly (D-77)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
2170 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-3266
Fax: (916) 323-8470
Exec Asst: Marsha King
3293 Olive Ave
Lemon Grove 91945
(619) 465-7723
Fax: (619) 465-7765
COS: Dena Holman

**Mickey Conroy (R-71)**
Elected: 1991 Term Limit: 1996
4102 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-2778
Fax: (916) 324-6872
COS: Pete Conaty
1940 N Tustin St #102
Orange 92665 (714) 998-0980
Fax: (714) 998-7102
Leg Aide: Jim Bieber

**Dominic L. Cortese (D-23)**
Elected: 1980 Term Limit: 1996
6031 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8243
Fax: (916) 323-8898
COS: Tom White
100 Paseo de San Antonio #300
San Jose 95113 (408) 269-6500
Fax: (408) 277-1036
*Field Rep: Geri Cookson*

**Jim Costa (D-30)**
Elected: 1978 Term Limit: 1996
2158 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7558
Fax: (916) 323-1097
COS: Terry Reardon
1111 Fulton Mall #914
Fresno 93721 (209) 264-3078
Fax: (209) 445-6506
AA: Bryn Batrich

**Delaine Eastin (D-20)**
Elected: 1986 Term Limit: 1996
3013 Capitol Building (916) 445-7874
Fax: (916) 324-2936
COS: Ann M. Evans
39650 Liberty St #160
Fremont 94538 (510) 791-2151
Fax: (510) 794-3841
Field Rep: Barbara L. Jones

**Bob Epple (D-56)**
Elected: 1988 Term Limit: 1996
4126 Capitol Building (916) 445-6047
Fax: (916) 327-1784
COS: Denyne Kowalewski
4425 Atlantic Ave #B-22
Long Beach 90807 (310) 984-7709
Fax: (310) 984-9469
AA: Ann Peifer

**Martha M. Escutia (D-50)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
2137 Capitol Building (916) 445-8188
Fax: (916) 324-0012
COS: Suzanne Wierbinski
3512 E Florence Ave #201
Huntington Park 90255
(213) 582-7774
Fax: (213) 582-4499
AA: Dolores Sanchez

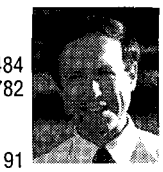
**Gil Ferguson (R-70)**
Elected: 1984 Term Limit: 1996
5135 Capitol Building (916) 445-7222
Fax: (916) 324-3657
Leg Asst: Dean A. McEwen
4299 MacArthur Blvd #204
Newport Beach 92660
(714) 756-0665
Fax: (714) 756-1935
COS: Dorothy H. Hughes

**Robert C. Frazee (R-74)**
Elected: 1978 Term Limit: 1996
6028 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-2390
Fax: (916) 324-9991
Leg Asst: Carol MacDonnell
2121 Palomar Airport #105
Carlsbad 92009 (619) 438-5665
Fax: (619) 438-6620
AA: Melinda L. Morrin

**Barbara Friedman (D-40)**
Elected: 1991 Term Limit: 1996
5150 Capitol Building (916) 445-7644
Fax: (916) 323-8459
Leg Dir: John Q. Young
13701 Riverside Dr #600
Sherman Oaks 91423
(818) 783-1976
Fax: (818) 783-2672
AA: Maria Whitaker

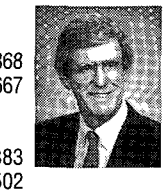
**Terry Friedman (D-41)**
Elected: 1986 Term Limit: 1996
2141 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-4956
Fax: (916) 323-7600
COS: Colleen Beamish
16130 Ventura Blvd #230
Encino 91436 (818) 501-8991
Fax: (818) 501-5254
Dist Dir: Matthew Le Veque

**Jan Goldsmith (R-75)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
2002 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-2484
Fax: (916) 324-2782
Leg Aide: Michael McCey
12307 Oak Knoll Rd #A
Poway 92064 (619) 486-5191
Fax: (619) 486-3334
COS: Matthew Adams



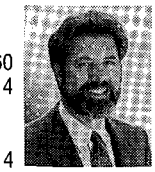
**Mike Gotch (D-76)**
Elected: 1990 Term Limit: 1996
3120 Capitol Building (916) 445-7210
Fax: (916) 324-7895
Leg Asst: Dia Goode
1080 University Ave #H-201
San Diego 92103 (619) 294-7600
Fax: (619) 294-2348
COS: Evonne Schulze

**Thomas Hannigan (D-8)**
Elected: 1978 Term Limit: 1996
3104 Capitol Building (916) 445-8368
Fax: (916) 327-9667
COS: Mary Anne Moore
844 Union Ave #A
Fairfield 94533 (707) 429-2383
Fax: (707) 429-1502
Dist Dir: Martin Tuttle



**Trice Harvey (R-32)**
Elected: 1986 Term Limit: 1996
4162 Capitol Building (916) 445-8498
Fax: (916) 324-4696
AA: Melinda Terry
100 W Columbus #201
Bakersfield 93301 (805) 324-3300
Fax: (805) 395-3883
COS: Jimmy Yee

**Dan Hauser (D-1)**
Elected: 1982 Term Limit: 1996
2003 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8360
Fax: (916) 322-5214
Schd Sec: Diane M. Plescia
510 O St #G
Eureka 95501 (707) 445-7014
Fax: (707) 445-6607
Field Rep: Sandra Corcoran



**Ray Haynes (R-66)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
4158 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-1676
Fax: (916) 447-4457
Leg Aide: Mike Bowman
29377 Rancho California Rd #102
Temecula 92591 (909) 699-1113
Fax: (909) 694-1039
COS: Lawrence Holland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**Bill Hoge (R-44)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
4177 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8211
Fax: (916) 323-9420
AA: Dianna Curd
1276 E Colorado Blvd #203
Pasadena 91106 (818) 577-4470
Fax: (818) 577-0614
COS: Brent ten Pas

**Kathleen M. Honeycutt (R-34)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
4009 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8102
Fax: (916) 323-7467
Leg Asst: Valory Brown
15888 Main St #203
Hesperia 92345 (619) 244-0233
Fax: (619) 244-0633
COS: Diane Stone

**Paul Horcher (R-60)**
Elected: 1990 Term Limit: 1996
3123 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7550
Fax: (916) 324-6973
COS: Ron Brand
325 N Azusa Ave
West Covina 91791 (818) 967-5299
Fax: (818) 967-9159
Field Rep: Tom Ross

**Phillip Isenberg (D-9)**
Elected: 1982 Term Limit: 1996
6005 Capitol Building (916) 445-1611
Fax: Will not disclose
COS: Alison Harvey
1215 15th St #102 Sacramento 95814
(916) 324-4676
Fax: (916) 322-1239
Sr Field Rep: Loretta Donovan

**Ross Johnson (R-72)**
Elected: 1978 Term Limit: 1996
3151 Capitol Building (916) 445-7448
Fax: Will not disclose
Prnc Asst: Susie Swatt
1501 N Harbor Blvd #201
Fullerton 92635 (714) 738-5853
Fax: (714) 526-7108
Field Rep: Leisha A. Bolland

**Bill Jones (R-29)**
Elected: 1982 Term Limit: 1996
5160 Capitol Building (916) 445-2931
Fax: (916) 445-3832
Prnc Asst: Vickie L. Glaser
2497 W Shaw #106
Fresno 93711 (209) 224-7833
Fax: (209) 224-7835
AA: Dan K. Evans

**Betty Karnette (D-54)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
5158 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-9234
Fax: Will not disclose
Leg Asst: Susanne Wright
211 E Ocean Blvd #300
Long Beach 90802 (310) 495-4766
Fax: (310) 495-1876
COS: Roger Powell

**Richard Katz (D-39)**
Elected: 1980 Term Limit: 1996
3146 Capitol Building (916) 445-1616
Fax: (916) 324-6860
Schd Sec: Mary Ann Aguilera
9140 Van Nuys Blvd #109
Panorama City 91402
(818) 894-3671
Fax: (818) 894-4672
AA: Laura Leganza-Reynolds

**Johan Klehs (D-18)**
Elected: 1982 Term Limit: 1996
2013 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8160
Fax: (916) 445-0967
COS: Chris Wagaman
2450 Washington Ave #270
San Leandro 94577 (510) 352-2673
Fax: (510) 352-4688
Dist Dir: Jennifer Scanlon

**William J. Knight (R-36)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
2196 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7498
Fax: (916) 327-1789
Leg Asst: Matthew Rexroad
1529 E Palmdale Blvd #308
Palmdale 93550 (805) 947-9664
Fax: (805) 947-9145
Field Rep: Monna Wagner

**David Knowles (R-4)**
Elected: 1990 Term Limit: 1996
5175 Capitol Building (916) 445-8343
Fax: (916) 327-2210
Leg Asst: Lance Hastings
3161 Cameron Park Dr #214
Cameron Park 95682
(916) 676-5953
Fax: (916) 933-5189
Dist Dir: Rick Staats

**Barbara Lee (D-16)**
Elected: 1990 Term Limit: 1996
4146 Capitol Building (916) 445-7442
Fax: (916) 327-1941
Leg Aide: Yolanda Stevens
1440 Broadway #810
Oakland 94612 (510) 286-0339
Fax: (510) 763-2023
COS: Anita Sanchez

**Burt Margolin (D-42)**
Elected: 1982 Term Limit: 1996
4112 Capitol Building (916) 445-7440
Fax: (916) 445-0119
COS: Diane Griffiths
8425 W 3rd St #406
Los Angeles 90048 (213) 655-9750
Fax: (213) 655-9725
Field Rep: Shirley Buter

**Diane Martinez (D-49)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
5119 Capitol Building (916) 445-7852
Fax: (916) 324-1393
Chf Cnslt: Rich Milner
320 S Garfield Ave #202
Alhambra 91801 (818) 570-6121
Fax: (818) 570-8470
Leg Asst: Carmen Hernandez

**Juanita M. McDonald (D-55)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
4005 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-3134
Fax: (916) 322-0655
COS: Vincent Harris
1 Civic Plaza Dr #320
Carson 90745 (310) 518-3324
Fax: (310) 518-3508
AA: Ann Ramirez

**Bruce McPherson (R-27)**
Elected: 1993 Term Limit: 1998
6017 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8496
Fax: 445-1826
Leg Aide: Debbie Smutney
701 Ocean St #318-B
Santa Cruz 95060 (408) 425-1503
Fax: (408) 454-3070
COS: Gordon Poole

**Gwen Moore (D-47)**
Elected: 1978 Term Limit: 1996
2117 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8800
Fax: (916) 324-6862
Leg Aide: Amy King
3683 Crenshaw Blvd 5th Flr
Los Angeles 90016 (213) 292-0605
Fax: (213) 736-3099
AA: Joy P. Atkinson

**Bill Morrow (R-73)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
2111 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7676
Fax: (916) 323-8318
AA: Dave Wolfson
302 N Hill St
Oceanside 92054 (619) 757-8084
Fax: (619) 757-8087
Field Rep: Laurel M. Moore

**Richard L. Mountjoy (R-59)**
Elected: 1978 Term Limit: 1996
2175 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7234
Fax: (916) 442-8429
Leg Asst: Nancy Leneis
208 N First Ave
Arcadia 91006 (818) 446-3134
Fax: (818) 445-3591
Sr Asst: Peggy A. Mew

**Willard H. Murray Jr. (D-52)**
Elected: 1988 Term Limit: 1996
3091 Capitol Building (916) 445-7486
Fax: (916) 447-3079
COS: Ruby Y. Anderson
16444 Paramount Blvd #100
Paramount 90723 (310) 516-4144
Fax: (310) 630-0231
AA: Rose Mary Spriggs

**Grace F. Napolitano (D-58)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
6011 Capitol Building (916) 445-0965
Fax: (916) 327-1203
COS: Linda M. Beauregard-Vasquez
12009 Firestone Blvd
Norwalk 90650 (310) 406-7322
Fax: (310) 406-7327
Off Mgr: Yolanda Dyer

**Pat Nolan (R-43)**
Elected: 1978 Term Limit: 1996
4164 Capitol Building (916) 445-8364
Fax: (916) 322-4398
Leg Aide: James Higgins
300 W Glenoaks Blvd #202
Glendale 91202 (818) 240-6330
Fax: (818) 240-4632
COS: Eric Peterson

**Jack O'Connell (D-35)**
Elected: 1982 Term Limit: 1996
3160 Capitol Building (916) 445-8292
Fax: (916) 327-3518
COS: Gavin Payne
228 W Carrillo St #F
Santa Barbara 93101
(805) 966-2296
Fax: (805) 966-3707
AA: Carla D. Frisk

**Richard Polanco (D-45)**
Elected: 1986 Term Limit: 1996
2188 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7587
Fax: (916) 324-4657
Chf Asst: Deborah V. Ortiz
110 No Avenue 56
Los Angeles 90042 (213) 255-7111
Fax: (213) 620-4411
Chf Asst: Bill Mabie


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**Curt Pringle (R-68)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
4208 Capitol Building (916) 445-8377
Fax: (916) 323-5467
Leg Asst: Deborah Gonzalez
12865 Main St #100
Garden Grove 92640
(714) 638-1393
Fax: (714) 638-1496
COS: Jeff Flint

**Charles Quackenbush (R-24)**
Elected: 1986 Term Limit: 1996
4130 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8305
*Fax: (916) 323-9989*
AA: Gregory Butler
901 Campisi Wy #300
Campbell 95008 (408) 369-8170
Fax: (408) 369-8174
AA: Craig Travis

**Richard K. Rainey (R-15)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
*4015 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-6161*
Fax: (916) 327-5297
Exec Secy: Diane Davis
1948 Mt Diablo Blvd
Walnut Creek 94596(510) 933-9196
Fax: (510) 933-9204
Off Mgr: Cindy Hughes

**Bernie Richter (R-3)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
4017 Capitol Building (916) 445-7298
Fax: (916) 323-3550
Leg Asst: Jill Frechette
2545 Zanella Wy #D
Chico 95928 (916) 345-7807
Fax: (916) 345-7899
COS: David Reade

**Andrea Seastrand (R-33)**
Elected: 1990 Term Limit: 1996
3141 Capitol Building (916) 445-7795
Fax: (916) 324-5510
AA: Mary Ann Coppinger
523 Higuera St
S. Luis Obispo 93401 (805) 549-3381
Fax: (805) 549-3400
AA: Eric A. Daniels

**Byron D. Sher (D-21)**
Elected: 1980 Term Limit: 1996
2136 Capitol Building (916) 445-7632
Fax: (916) 324-6974
COS: Kip Lipper
702 Marshall St #290
Redwood City 94063
(415) 364-2080
Fax: (415) 364-2102
AA: Betsy Shotwell

**Margaret E. Snyder (D-25)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
5144 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7906
Fax: (916) 445-7344
Leg Aide: Pika Fisher
1101 Standiford Ave #B5
Modesto 95350 (209) 549-1041
Fax: (209) 549-1045
COS: Nancy Mooney

**Hilda L. Solis (D-57)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
4117 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7610
Fax: (916) 327-9696
AA: Dolores Duran
218 N Glendora Ave #D
La Puente 91744 (818) 369-3551
Fax: (818) 369-2861
Field Rep: Antonio Aguilar

**Jackie Speier (D-19)**
Elected: 1986 Term Limit: 1996
4140 Capitol Building (916) 445-8020
Fax: (916) 445-0511
COS: Richard Steffen
220 S Spruce St #101
S San Fran 94080 (415) 871-4100
Fax: (415) 871-4350
AA: Judy Bloom

**Stan Statham (R-2)**
Elected: 1976 Term Limit: 1996
4098 Capitol Building (916) 445-7266
Fax: (916) 448-6040
*COS: Mark Powers*
410 Hemsted Dr #210
Redding 96002 (916) 223-6300
Fax: (916) 223-6737
Chf Cnslt: Ray Narbaitz

**Nao Takasugi (R-37)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
2016 Capitol Building (916) 445-7827
*Fax: (916) 324-6869*
Leg Asst: Julia King
221 E Dailey Dr #7
Camarillo 93010 (805) 987-5195
Fax: (805) 484-0853
COS: Tab Berg

**Curtis R. Tucker Jr. (D-51)**
Elected: 1989 Term Limit: 1996
4016 Capitol Building (916) 445-7533
Fax: (916) 327-3517
COS: Tracey St. Julien
1 Manchester Blvd Box 6500
Inglewood 90301 (310) 412-6400
Fax: (310) 412-6354
AA: Pamela Craddock

**Tom Umberg (D-69)**
Elected: 1990 Term Limit: 1996
448 Capitol Building (916) 445-7333
Fax: (916) 327-1783
AA: Patti Habel
12387 Lewis St #203
Garden Grove 92640
(714) 971-1757
Fax: (714) 971-3011
COS: George Urch

**John Vasconcellos (D-22)**
Elected: 1966 Term Limit: 1996
6026 Capitol Building (916) 445-4253
Fax: (916) 323-9209
COS: Rand Martin
100 Paseo de San Antonio #106
San Jose 95113 (408) 288-7515
Fax: (408) 277-1249
Field Rep: Karalyn M. Johnson

**Ted Weggeland (R-64)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 1998
2174 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-0854
Fax: (916) 323-7179
COS: Barbara Dunham
6840 Indiana Ave #150
Riverside 92506 (909) 369-6644
Fax: (909) 369-0366
AA: Ann Cramer

**Paul A. Woodruff (R-65)**
Elected: 1988 Term Limit: 1996
5164 Capitol Building (916) 445-7552
Fax: (916) 445-7650
Leg Aide: Lea McSweeney
13027 Perris Blvd #106
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# CALIFORNIA STATE SENATE

(The Capitol address for all members is Sacramento, CA 95814. The area code for all Sacramento numbers is 916.)

*Lockyer*

**President:** ..... Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy(D)
**President pro Tempore:** ..... Bill Lockyer (D)
**Majority Floor Leader:** ..... Henry Mello (D)
**Minority Floor Leader:** ..... Ken Maddy (R)
**Majority Whip:** ..... Leroy Greene (D)
**Minority Whip:** ..... Newton Russell (R)
**Democratic Caucus Chairman:** ..... Milton Marks
**Republican Caucus Chairman:** ..... Bill Leonard

*Maddy*

**Alfred E. Alquist (D-13)**
Elected: 1966 Term Limit: 1996
5100 Capitol Building (916) 445-9740
Fax: (916) 323-8386
AA: Christopher Janzen
100 Paseo de San Antonio #209
San Jose 95113 (408) 286-8318
Fax: (408) 286-2338
Dist Coord: Loretta Riddle

**Ruben S. Ayala (D-34)**
Elected: 1974 Term Limit: 1998
5108 Capitol Building (916) 445-6868
Fax: (916) 445-0128
COS: Sandra Miller
9620 Center Ave #100
Rancho Cucamonga 91730
(909) 466-6882
Fax: (909) 941-7219
COS: George Burden

**Marian Bergeson (R-35)**
Elected: 1984 Term Limit: 1996
3063 Capitol Building (916) 445-4961
Fax: (916) 445-9263
COS: Christopher Kahn
140 Newport Center Dr #120
Newport Beach 92660
(714) 640-1137
Fax: (714) 640-1523
AA: Kay Cotton

**Robert G. Beverly (R-27)**
Elected: 1976 Term Limit: 1996
5082 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-6447
Fax: Will not disclose.
Staff Dir: Lee Bennett
1611 S Pacific Coast Hwy
Redondo Beach 90277
(310) 540-1611
Fax: (310) 540-2192
AA: Thomas R. Martin

**Daniel E. Boatwright (D-7)**
Elected: 1980 Term Limit: 1996
3086 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-6083
Fax: (916) 446-7367
COS: Tim Shelley
1001 Galaxy Wy #210
Concord 94520 (510) 689-1973
Fax: (510) 689-0618
AA: Brett Hughes

**Charles Calderon (D-26)**
Elected: 1990 Term Limit: 1998
5066 Capitol Bldg (916) 327-8315
Fax: Will not disclose.
COS: Michael Burns
400 N Montebello Blvd #101
Montebello 90640 (213) 724-6175
Fax: (213) 724-6566
COS: Dennis Kazarian

**Tom Campbell (R-11)**
Elected: 1993 Term Limit: 2000
3048 Capitol Building (916) 445-6747
Fax: (916) 323-4529
COS: Karen M. Pipkin
373 First St #100
Los Altos 94022 (415) 949-5401
Fax: (415) 949-5495
Field Coord: Casey Beyer

**William A. Craven (R-38)**
Elected: 1978 Term Limit: 1998
3070 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-3731
Fax: Will not disclose.
Staff Dir: Scott B. Johnson
2121 Palomar Airport Rd. #100
Carlsbad 92009 (619) 438-3814
Fax: (619) 931-5745
COS: Mary Jo Kerlin

**Ralph C. Dills (D-30)**
Elected: 1966 Term Limit: 1998
5050 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-5953
Fax: (916) 323-6056
AA: Polly C. Gardner
16921 S Western Ave #101
Gardena 90247 (310) 324-4969
Fax: (310) 329-5244
AA: Rose Sarukian

**Leroy F. Greene (D-6)**
Elected: 1982 Term Limit: 1998
2082 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7807
Fax: (916) 327-6341
Sr Cnslt: Elva Raish
Box 254646
Sacramento 95825 (916) 324-4937
Field Rep: Jim Cooper

**Gary K. Hart (D-18)**
Elected: 1982 Term Limit: 1998
4074 Capitol Building (916) 445-5405
Fax: (916) 322-3304
Leg Coord: Margaret Healey
1216 State St #507
Santa Barbara 93101 (805) 966-1766
Fax: (805) 965-1161
Field Rep: Peggy Good

**Tom Hayden (D-23)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 2000
2048 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-1353
Fax: (916) 324-4823
COS: Duane Peterson
10951 W Pico Blvd #202
Los Angeles 90064 (310) 441-9084
Fax: (310) 441-0724
Dist Dir: Laura Cohen

**Frank Hill (R-29)**
Elected: 1990 Term Limit: 1996
5064 Capitol Building (916) 445-2848
Fax: (916) 327-8817
COS: Shannon Hood
15820 E Whittier Blvd #H
Whittier 90603 (310) 947-3021
Fax: (310) 943-2690
Field Rep: Thomas M. Aney

**Teresa Hughes (D-25)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 2000
4090 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-2104
Fax: (916) 445-3712
Sr Asst: Joseph I. Hew Len
1 Manchester Blvd #401
Inglewood 90301 (310) 412-0393
AA: Patricia P. White

**Rob Hurtt (R-32)**
Elected: 1993 Term Limit: 2002
2054 Capitol Building (916) 445-5831
Fax: (916) 323-8985
Prnc Cnslt: Joe Yocca
11642 Knott St #8
Garden Grove 92641
(714) 898-8353
Fax: (714) 898-8033
AA: Kim Barone

**K. Maurice Johannessen (R-4)**
Elected: 1993 Term Limit: 2002
4082 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-3353
Fax: (916) 445-7750
COS: Forrest Sprague
41 Hemsted #200
Redding 96002 (916) 224-4706
Fax: (916) 224-4794
Off Mgr: Cheri Beck

**Patrick Johnston (D-5)**
Elected: 1991 Term Limit: 1996
4039 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-2407
Fax: (916) 327-4213
COS: Ross Sargent
31 E Channel St #440
Stockton 95202 (209) 948-7930
Fax: (209) 948-7993
AA: Fran Gottlieb

**David G. Kelley (R-37)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 2000
3082 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-5581
Fax: (916) 327-2187
COS: Nancy L. Newbill
11440 W Bernardo Ct #104
San Diego 92127 (619) 675-8211
Fax: (619) 675-8262
Dist Dir: Margi Weggeland


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**Lucy Killea (I-39)**
Elected: 1989 Term Limit: 1996
4061 Capitol Building (916) 445-3952
Fax: (916) 327-2188
COS: Craig Reynolds
2550 5th Ave #152
San Diego 92103 (619) 696-6955
Fax: (619) 696-8930
AA: Kimberley McManus

**Quentin L. Kopp (I-8)**
Elected: 1986 Term Limit: 1998
2057 Capitol Building (916) 445-0503
Fax: (916) 327-2186
COS: Daniel B. Friedlander
363 El Camino Real #205
South San Francisco 94080
(415) 952-5666
Fax: (415) 589-5953
AA: Denise La Pointe

**Bill Leonard (R-31)**
Elected: 1988 Term Limit: 1996
5087 Capitol Building (916) 445-3688
Fax: (916) 327-2272
COS: Robert J. McKenzie Jr.
400 N Mountain Ave #109
Upland 91786 (909) 946-4889
Fax: (909) 982-1197
AA: Janice L. Molnar

**Tim Leslie (R-1)**
Elected: 1991 Term Limit: 2000
4081 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-5788
COS: John Allard
1200 Melody Ln #110
Roseville 95678 (916) 969-8232
Fax: Will not disclose.
Dist Coord: Robert Dugan

**John R. Lewis (R-33)**
Elected: 1991 Term Limit: 1996
3074 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-4264
Fax: (916) 324-2896
COS: Christopher Jones
1940 W Orangewood Ave #106
Orange 92668 (714) 939-0604
Fax: (714) 939-0730
AA: Don Gilchrist

**Bill Lockyer (D-10)**
Elected: 1982 Term Limit: 1998
2032 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-6671
Fax: (916) 447-2559
AA: Ben Firschein
22634 Second St #104
Hayward 94541 (510) 582-8800
Fax: (510) 582-0822
Field Rep: Zeny Agullana

**Ken Maddy (R-14)**
Elected: 1979 Term Limit: 1998
305 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-9600
Fax: (916) 327-3523
COS: Jo-Ann Slinkard
2503 W Shaw Ave #101
Fresno 93711 (209) 445-5567
Fax: (209) 445-6009
Field Rep: Susan D. Forrester

**Milton Marks (D-3)**
Elected: 1967 Term Limit: 1996
5035 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-1412
Fax: (916) 327-7229
COS: Sherry Geiogue
30 N San Pedro Rd #160
San Rafael 94903 (415) 479-6612
Fax: Will not disclose.
AA: Elizabeth L. Doherty

**Dan McCorquodale (D-12)**
Elected: 1982 Term Limit: 1998
4032 Capitol Building (916) 445-3104
Fax: (916) 327-8801
Cnslt: Terry Anderson
1020 15th St #10
Modesto 95354 (209) 576-6231
Fax: (209) 576-6092
AA: Eileen Hodson

**Henry J. Mello (D-15)**
Elected: 1980 Term Limit: 1996
313 Capitol Building (916) 445-5843
Fax: (916) 448-0175
COS: Sherri Yee
92 5th St
Gilroy 95020 (408) 848-1437
Fax: (408) 848-6311
Dist COS: Gail Bathiany

**Steve Peace (D-40)**
Elected: 1993 Term Limit: 2002
2068 Capitol Building (916) 445-6767
Fax: (916) 322-2271
COS: Chris Humes
430 Davidson St #B
Chula Vista 91910 (619) 426-1617
Fax: (619) 696-5430
AA: Shere S. Mann

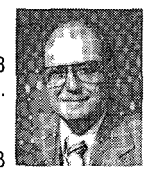
**Nicholas C. Petris (D-9)**
Elected: 1966 Term Limit: 1996
5080 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-6577
Fax: (916) 327-1997
Staff Dir: Felice Tanenbaum
1970 Broadway #1030
Oakland 94612 (510) 286-1333
Fax: (510) 286-3885
AA: Alfreda H. Abbott

**Robert Presley (D-36)**
Elected: 1974 Term Limit: 1998
5114 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-9781
Fax: Will not disclose.
COS: Carla Anderson
3600 Lime St #111
Riverside 92501 (909) 782-4111
Fax: (909) 276-4483
AA: Tom Mullen

**David Roberti (D-20)**
Elected: 1971 Term Limit: 1994
205 Capitol Building (916) 445-8390
Fax: (916) 323-7224
COS: Maeley Tom
6150 Van Nuys Blvd #400
Van Nuys 91401 (818) 901-5588
Fax: (818) 901-5562
Dist Coord: Sandy Miller

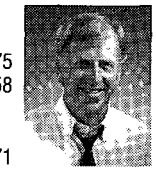
**Don Rogers (R-17)**
Elected: 1986 Term Limit: 1996
5052 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-6637
Fax: (916) 443-4015
Leg Asst: Anita Ramos
Box 902725
Palmdale 92950 (805) 266-9353
Fax: (805) 266-1237
Rep: Clyde Bailey

**Herschel Rosenthal (D-22)**
Elected: 1982 Term Limit: 1998
4070 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-7928
Fax: Will not disclose.
AA: Dan Flynn
1950 Sawtelle Blvd #210
Los Angeles 90025 (310) 479-5588
Fax: (310) 477-8172
COS: Lynnette Stevens



**Newton R. Russell (R-21)**
Elected: 1974 Term Limit: 1996
5061 Capitol Building (916) 445-5976
Fax: (916) 324-7543
COS: Kay Lentz
401 N Brand Blvd #424
Glendale 91203 (818) 247-7021
Fax: (818) 240-5672
COS: Wellington Love

**Mike Thompson (D-2)**
Elected: 1993 Term Limit: 1998
3056 Capitol Building (916) 445-3375
Fax: (916) 323-6958
COS: Ed Matovcik
50 D St #120A
Santa Rosa 95404 (707) 576-2771
Fax: (707) 576-2773
AA: Kathleen Gallagher



**Art Torres (D-24)**
Elected: 1982 Term Limit: 1998
2080 Capitol Building (916) 445-3456
Fax: (916) 444-0581
AA: Linda Macias
107 S Broadway St #2105
Los Angeles 90012 (213) 620-2529
Fax: (213) 617-0077
Field Rep: Alan Clayton

**Diane E. Watson (D-28)**
Elected: 1978 Term Limit: 1998
4040 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-5215
Fax: (916) 327-2599
COS: John Miller
4401 Crenshaw Blvd #300
Los Angeles 90043 (213) 295-6655
Fax: (213) 295-0910
Chf Dpty: Charles B. Stewart

**Cathie Wright (R-19)**
Elected: 1992 Term Limit: 2000
4052 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-8873
Fax: (916) 324-7544
COS: Catherine Morrison
2345 Erringer Rd #212
Simi Valley 93065 (805) 522-2920
Fax: (805) 522-1194
AA: John Theiss

**Phillip Wyman (R-16)**
Elected: 1993 Term Limit: 2002
4062 Capitol Bldg (916) 445-4641
Fax: (916) 323-2304
AA: Roger Canfield
1326 H St
Bakersfield 93301 (805) 395-2927
Fax: (805) 861-9413
AA: Al Gutierrez

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**U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510 (202) 224-3121**

## SENATORS

**Barbara Boxer (D)**
Elected: 1992
Hart Bldg #112 224-3553
DC Staff: Karen Olick
1700 Montgomery St #240
San Francisco 94111 (415) 403-0100
Fax: (415) 956-6701
Jackie de Nevers, Sp Asst

**Dianne Feinstein (D)**
Elected: 1992
Hart Bldg #331 224-3841
Fax: 228-3954
DC Staff: Mike McGill
1700 Montgomery St #305
San Francisco 94111 (415) 249-4777
Hadley Roff, No California Dir

## REPRESENTATIVES

**Bill Baker (R-10)**
Elected: 1992
Longworth Bldg #1724 225-1880
Fax: 225-2150
DC Staff: John Walker
1801 N California #103
Walnut Creek 94596 (510) 932-8899
Fax: (510) 932-8159
Ann Jordan, Dist Dir

**Gary Condit (D-18)**
ELECTED: 1989
Longworth Bldg #1123
(202) 225-6131
Fax: (202) 225-0819
DC Staff: Mike Dayton
920 16th St #C
Modesto 95354 (209) 527-1914
Fax: (209) 527-5748
Michael Lynch, COS

**John T. Doolittle (R-4)**
ELECTED: 1990
Longsworth Bldg #1524 225-2511
Fax: 225-5444
DC Staff: Paul Morrell
2130 Professional Dr #190
Roseville 95661 (916) 786-5560
Fax: (916) 786-6364
Richard Robinson, Dist Coord

***Xavier Becerra (D-30)***
Elected: 1992
Longworth Bldg #1710 225-6235
Fax: 225-2202
DC Staff: Elsa Marquez
2435 Colorado Blvd #200
Los Angeles 90041 (213) 550-8962
Fax: (213) 550-1440
Henry Lozano, AA

***C. Christopher Cox (R-47)***
ELECTED: 1988
Cannon Bldg #206 225-5611
Fax: 225-9177
DC Staff: Jan Fujiwara
4000 MacArthur Blvd #430
Newport Beach 92660
(714) 756-2244
Fax: (714) 251-9309
Dina Gartland, Sr Staff Asst

**Robert K. Dornan (R-46)**
ELECTED: 1984
Rayburn Bldg #2402 (202) 225-2965
Fax: (202) 225-0275
DC Staff: Joe Eule
300 Alicante Plz #360
Garden Grove 92640
(714) 971-9292
Fax: (714) 971-1827
Pat Fanelli, Dist Adm

**Anthony C. Beilenson (D-24)**
ELECTED: 1976
Rayburn Bldg #2465 225-5911
DC Staff: Jan Faulstich
21031 Ventura Blvd #1010
Woodland Hills 91364
(818) 999-1990
Fax: (818) 999-2287
Virginia Hatfield, Off Mgr

**Randy "Duke" Cunningham (R-51)**
ELECTED: 1990
Cannon Bldg #117 225-5452
Fax: 225-2558
DC Staff: Frank Collins
613 W Valley Park Wy #320
Escondido 92025 (619) 737-8438
Fax: (619) 737-9132
Kathy Stafford-Taulbee, Dist Dir

**David Dreier (R-28)**
ELECTED: 1980
Cannon Bldg #411 225-2305
Fax: 225-7018
DC Staff: Brad Smith
112 N Second Ave
Covina 91723 (818) 339-9078
Fax: (818) 339-6895
Joan Couch, District Mgr

**Howard L. Berman (D-26)**
ELECTED: 1982
Rayburn Bldg #2201 225-4695
Fax: 225-5279
DC Staff: Gene Smith
14600 Roscoe Blvd #506
Panorama City 91402
(818) 891-0543
Fax: (818) 830-1990
Rose Castaneda, AA

**Ronald V. Dellums (D-9)**
ELECTED: 1970
Rayburn Bldg #2108 225-2661
Fax: 225-9817
DC Staff: Carlotta Scott
1301 Clay St #1000-N
Oakland 94612 (510) 763-0370
Fax: (510) 763-6538
Sandre Swanson, Dist Dir

**Don Edwards (D-16)**
ELECTED: 1962
Rayburn Bldg #2307 225-3072
Fax: 225-6193
DC Staff: Roberta Haeberle
1042 W Hedding St #100
San Jose 95126 (408) 345-1711
Fax: (408) 244-9784
Terry Poche, Dist Coord

**George E. Brown Jr. (D-42)**
ELECTED: 1972
Rayburn Bldg #2300 225-6161
Fax: 225-8671
DC Staff: Bill Goold
657 N La Cadena Dr
Colton 92324 (909) 825-2472
Fax: (909) 824-3825
Wilmer Carter, Dist Adm

**Julian C. Dixon (D-32)**
ELECTED: 1978
Rayburn Bldg #2400 225-7084
Fax: 225-4091
DC Staff: Tracy Holmes
5100 W Goldleaf Cir #208
Los Angeles 90056 (213) 678-5424
Fax: (213) 678-6026
Patricia Miller, AA

**Anna G. Eshoo (D-14)**
ELECTED: 1992
Longworth Bldg #1505 225-8104
Fax: 225-8890
DC Staff: John Flaherty
698 Emerson St
Palo Alto 94301 (415) 323-2984
Fax: (415) 323-3498
Bruce Ives, District Mgr

**Ken Calvert (R-43)**
ELECTED: 1992
Longworth Bldg #1523 225-1986
Fax: Would not disclose
DC Staff: Ed Slevin
3400 Central Ave #200
Riverside 92506 (909) 784-4300
Fax: (909) 784-5255
Sue Miller, Dist Dir

**Calvin M. Dooley (D-20)**
ELECTED: 1990
Longworth Bldg #1227 225-3341
Fax: 225-9308
DC Staff: Lisa Quigly
224 W Lacey Blvd
Hanford 93230 (800) 464-4294
Fax: (209) 585-8199
Chris Sundstrom, Dist Dir

**Sam Farr (D-17)**
ELECTED: 1993
Longworth Bldg #1216 225-2861
Fax: 225-6791
DC Staff: Rochelle Dornatt
380 Alvarado St
Monterey 93940 (408) 649-3555
Fax: Will not disclose
Donna Blitzer, Dist Dir


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**Vic Fazio (D-3)**
ELECTED: 1978
Rayburn Bldg #2113 2 25-5716
Fax: Will not disclose
DC Staff: Linda Reiff
722B Main St
Woodland 95695 (916) 666-5521
Fax: (916) 666-3413
Richard Harris, Dist Dir

**Jane Harman (D-36)**
ELECTED: 1992
Cannon Bldg #325 (202) 225-8220
Fax: Will not disclose
DC Staff: Eric Altshule
5200 W Century Blvd #960
Los Angeles 90045 (310) 348-8220
Fax: (310) 348-8526
Judy Sitzer, Dist Dir

**Duncan Hunter (R-52)**
ELECTED: 1980
Cannon Bldg #133 225-5672
Fax: 225-0235
DC Staff: Vicki Middleton
366 S Pierce St
El Cajon 92020 (619) 579-3001
Fax: (619) 579-2251
Wendell Cutting, COS

**Bob Filner (D-50)**
ELECTED: 1992
Cannon Bldg #504 225-8045
Fax: 225-9073
DC Staff: David Ginsborg
333 F St #A
Chula Vista 91910 (619) 422-5963
Fax: (619) 422-7290
Vincent Hall, Dist Dir

**Wally Herger (R-2)**
ELECTED: 1986
Rayburn Bldg #2433 225-3076
Fax: 225-3245
DC Staff: John Magill
55 Independence Cir #104
Chico 95926 (916) 893-8363
Fax: (916) 893-8619
Fran Peace, Dist Dir

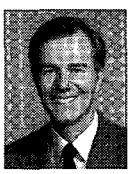
**Jay C. Kim (R-41)**
ELECTED: 1992
Cannon Bldg #502 225-3201
Fax: 226-7485
DC Staff: Susie Gerrick
1131 W 6th St #160A
Ontario 91762 (909) 988-1055
Fax: (909) 988-5723
Sandra Garner, COS

**Elton Gallegly (R-23)**
ELECTED: 1986
Rayburn Bldg #2441 225-5811
Fax: 225-1100
DC Staff: Paul Bateman
300 Esplanade Dr #1800
Oxnard 93030 (805) 485-2300
Fax: Will not disclose
Paula Sheil, Dist Dir

**Steve Horn (R-38)**
ELECTED: 1992
Longworth Bldg #1023 225-6676
Fax: 226-1012
DC Staff: Jim Dykstra
4010 Watson Plz Dr #160
Lakewood 90712 (310) 425-1336
Fax: (310) 425-4591
Connie Sziebl, Dist Dir

**Tom Lantos (D-12)**
ELECTED: 1980
Rayburn Bldg #2182 225-3531
Fax: Will not disclose
DC Staff: Robert King
400 S El Camino Real #820
San Mateo 94402 (415) 342-0300
Fax: (415) 375-8270
Evelyn Szelenyi, Dist Rep

**Dan Hamburg (D-1)**
ELECTED: 1992
Cannon Bldg #114 225-3311
Fax: 225-7710
DC Staff: Meg Ryan-O'Donnal
910-A Waugh Ln
Ukiah 95482 (707) 462-1716
Fax: (707) 462-0691
Dave Nelsen, Dist Mgr



**Michael Huffington (R-22)**
ELECTED: 1992
Cannon Bldg #113 225-3601
Fax: 226-1015
DC Staff: Christina Martin
1819 State St #D
Santa Barbara 93101
(805) 682-6600
Fax: (805) 563-4681
David Grey, Dist Dir

**Richard H. Lehman (D-19)**
ELECTED: 1982
Longworth Bldg #1226 225-4540
Fax: Will not disclose
DC Staff: Janice Morris
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DC Staff: Arlene Willis
1150 Brookside Ave #J5
Redlands 92373 (909) 862-6030
Fax: (909) 335-9155
Pat Cinque, Dist Rep

**Matthew G. Martinez (D-31)**
ELECTED: 1982
Rayburn Bldg #2231 225-5464
Fax: 225-5467
DC Staff: Maxine Grant
320 S Garfield Ave #214
Alhambra 91801 (818) 458-4524
Fax: (818) 458-7457
David Tierney, Sr Field Rep

**Robert T. Matsui (D-5)**
ELECTED: 1978
Rayburn Bldg #2311 225-7163
Fax: 225-0566
DC Staff: Tom Keaney
650 Capitol Mall #8058
Sacramento 95814 (916) 551-2846
Fax: (916) 444-6117
Collette Johnson-Schulke, Dist Rep

**Alfred E. McCandless (R-44)**
ELECTED: 1982
Rayburn Bldg #2422 225-5330
Fax: Will not disclose
DC Staff: Signy Ellerton-Cale
73-710 Fred Waring Dr 112
Palm Desert 92260 (619) 340-2900
Fax: (619) 346-7546
Pat Cross, Dist Dir

**Howard P. "Buck McKeon (R-25)**
ELECTED: 1992
Cannon Bldg #307 225-1956
Fax: 226-0683
DC Staff: Bob Cochran
23929 W Valencia Blvd 410
Santa Clarita 91355 (805) 254-2111
Fax: (805) 254-2380
Armando Azarloza, Dist Dir

**George Miller (D-7)**
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Rayburn Bldg #2205 225-2095
Fax: 225-5609
DC Staff: Danny Weiss
367 Civic Dr #14
Pleasant Hill 94523 (510) 602-1880
Fax: (510) 674-0983
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**Norman Y. Mineta (D-15)**
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Rayburn Bldg #2221 225-2631
Fax: Will not disclose
DC Staff: David Castagnetti
1245 S Winchester Blvd #310
San Jose 95128
(408) 984-6045
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**Carlos J. Moorhead (R-27)**
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Rayburn Bldg #2346 225-4176
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DC Staff: Maxine Dean
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Pasadena 91101 (818) 792-6168
Fax: (818) 792-6528
Peter Stevens, Dist Admin

**Ron Packard (R-48)**
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Rayburn Bldg #2162 225-3906
Fax: 225-0134
DC Staff: David Coggin
221 E Vista Wy #205
Vista 92084 (619) 631-1364
Don Polese, Dist Rep

**Nancy Pelosi (D-8)**
ELECTED: 1988
Cannon Bldg #240 225-4965
Fax: 225-8259
DC Staff: Judy Lemmons
450 Golden Gate Ave
San Francisco 94102 (415) 558-4862
Fax: (415) 861-1670
Michael Yaki, Dist Rep

**Richard W. Pombo (R-11)**
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Fax: 226-0861
DC Staff: Matt Miller
2321 W March Ln #205
Stockton 95207 (209) 951-3091
Fax: (209) 951-1910
Steven Ding, Dist Dir

**Dana Rohrabacher (R-45)**
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Longworth Bldg #1027 225-2415
Fax: 225-0145
DC Staff: Gary Curran
16162 Beach Blvd #304
Huntington Beach 92647
(714) 847-2433
Fax: (714) 847-5153
Kathleen Hollingsworth, Dist Dir

**Lucille Roybal-Allard (D-33)**
ELECTED: 1992
Cannon Bldg #324 225-1766
Fax: 226-0350
DC Staff: Henry Contreras
255 E Temple St #1860
Los Angeles 90012 (213) 628-9230
Fax: (213) 628-8578
Yolanda Chavez, COS

**Edward Royce (R-39)**
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Longworth Bldg #1404 225-4111
Fax: 226-0335
DC Staff: Joan Korich
305 N Harbor Blvd #300
Fullerton 92632 (714) 992-8081
Fax: (714) 992-1668
Marcia Gilchrist, AA

**Lynn Schenk (D-49)**
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DC Staff: Fran Callanan
3900 5th Ave #200
San Diego 92103 (619) 291-1430
Fax: (619) 291-8956
Laurie Black, COS

**Fortney Pete Stark (D-13)**
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DC Staff: Bill Vaughan
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Fax: (510) 247-2510
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**William M. Thomas (R-21)**
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Rayburn Bldg #2209 225-2915
Fax: 225-8798
DC Staff: Cathy Abernathy
4100 Truxtun Ave #220
Bakersfield 93309 (805) 327-3611
Fax: (805) 631-9535
Kevin McCarthy, Field Rep

**Esteban Torres (D-34)**
ELECTED: 1982
Longworth Bldg #1740 225-5256
Fax: 225-9711
DC Staff: Albert Jacquez
8819 Whittier Blvd #101
Pico Rivera 90660 (310) 695-0702
Fax: (310) 692-2216
Jamie Casso, COS

**Walter R. Tucker (D-37)**
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Cannon Bldg #419 225-7924
Fax: 225-7926
DC Staff: Marcus Mason
145 E Compton Blvd
Compton 90220 (310) 884-9989
Fax: (310) 884-9023
Audrey Gibson, Dist Adm

**Maxine Waters (D-35)**
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Longworth Bldg #1207 225-2201
Fax: 225-7854
DC Staff: Jim Key
10124 S Broadway
Los Angeles 90003 (213) 757-8900
Fax: (213) 757-9506
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**Henry A. Waxman (D-29)**
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Rayburn Bldg #2408 225-3976
Fax: 225-4099
DC Staff: Phil Shirilo
8436 W Third St #600
Los Angeles 90048 (213) 651-1040
Fax: (213) 655-8037
Howard Elinson, AA

**Lynn Woolsey (D-6)**
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Cannon Bldg #439 225-5161
Fax: 225-5163
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1301 Redwood Wy #205
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Fax: (707) 795-4903
Elmy Bermejo, Dist Dir


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**Chair:** Rusty Arieas (D)
**Vice Chair:** Julie Bornstein (D)
**Democrats:** V.Brown, Bustamante, Cannella, Polanco, Synder, Vasconcellos
**Republicans:** Aguiar, Harvey, Haynes, Jones, Seastrand
**Consultant:** Peter Cooey
**Secretary:** Margaret Graham
5136 Capitol Building 445-1918
**Meets:** 2nd & 4th Mon, 1:30 PM, Rm 126

**Banking and Finance**
**Chair:** Louis Caldera (D)
**Vice Chair:** Vacant
**Democrats:** Bowen, T. Friedman, Hannigan
**Republicans:** Alby, Andal, Conroy, Ferguson, Weggeland
**Consultant:** Vacant
**Secretary:** Vacant 445-4843
**Meets:** Tues, 9:00 AM

**Consumer Protection, Governmental Efficiency and Economic Development**
**Chair:** Jackie Speier (D)
**Vice Chair:** Debra Bowen (D)
**Democrats:** Bronshvag, Caldera, Martinez, Sher
**Republicans:** Goldsmith, Honeycutt, Knight, Seastrand, Weggeland
**Consultant:** Richard Steffan
**Secretary:** Deborah Lott
4121 Capitol Building 324-7440
**Meets:** 1st & 3rd Wed, 9:00 AM, Rm 437

**Education**
**Chair:** Delaine Eastin (D)
**Vice Chair:** Joe Baca (D)
**Democrats:** Alpert, Bronshvag, V.Brown, Martinez, McDonald, Moore, Murray, O'Connell, Umberg
**Republicans:** Alby, Allen, Bowler, Haynes, Knowles, Morrow
**Consultant:** Mark Sektnan
**Secretary:** Marilyn Martinez
3003 Capitol Building 445-9431
**Meets:** 1st & 3rd Wed, 1:30 PM, Rm 4202

**Elections, Reapportionment and Constitutional Amendments**
**Chair:** Diane Martinez (D)
**Vice Chair:** Cruz Bustamante (D)
**Democrat:** Klehs
**Republicans:** Johnson, Mountjoy
**Consultant:** Rich Milner
**Secretary:** Vacant
5119 Capitol Building 322-5249
**Meets:** Mon, 4:00 PM, Rm 437
Asm. Richard L. Mountjoy (R)

**Environmental Safety and Toxic Materials**
**Chair:** Tom Umberg (D)
**Vice Chair:** Bernie Richter (R)
**Democrats:** Alpert, Baca, Bates, Bowen, Karnette, Sher, Solis
**Republicans:** Andal, Boland, Jones, Rainey
**Consultant:** Kathryn Dresslar
**Secretary:** Rosemary Sanchez
448 Capitol Building 445-0991
**Meets:** 2nd & 4th Tues, 1:30 PM, Rm 444

**Governmental Organization**
**Chair:** Curtis Tucker Jr. (D)
**Vice Chair:** Vacant
**Democrats:** Baca, Bustamante, Connolly, Cortese, Hauser, Karnette, Martinez, Moore, Napolitano
**Republicans:** Hoge, Knight, Nolan, Quackenbush, Richter
**Consultant:** Jerry McFetridge
**Secretary:** Brenda Olkjer
4016 Capitol Building 445-3451
**Meets:** Tues, 9:00 AM, Rm 437

**Health**
**Chair:** Burt Margolin (D)
**Vice Chair:** Margaret Snyder (D)
**Democrats:** Burton, Escutia, B.Friedman, Isenberg, Klehs, Lee, Polanco, Speier
**Republicans:** Conroy, Harvey, Horcher, Knight, Knowles, Morrow, Woodruff
**Consultant:** Paul Press
**Secretary:** Claudia Harris
4112 Capitol Building 445-1770
**Meets:** Tues, 1:30 PM, Rm 4202

**Higher Education**
**Chair:** Marguerite Archie-Hudson (D)
**Vice Chair:** Hilda L. Solis (D)
**Democrats:** Bornstein, Campbell, Karnette, Moore, Vasconcellos
**Republicans:** Frazee, McPherson, Richter, Woodruff
**Consultant:** Christopher Cabaldon
**Secretary:** Patricia Hawkins
5016 Capitol Building 324-4655
**Meets:** 1st & 3rd Tue, 1:30 PM, Rm 126

**Housing and Community Development**
**Chair:** Dan Hauser (D)
**Vice Chair:** Grace Napolitano (D)
**Democrats:** Bornstein, Bowen, Bustamante, Cortese, McDonald
**Republicans:** Aguiar, Boland, Ferguson, Honeycutt
**Consultant:** Daniel Carrigg
**Secretary:** Sue Highland
1020 N St #401 445-2320
**Meets:** 2nd & 4th Wed, 9:00 AM, Rm 126

**Human Services**
**Chair:** Tom Bates (D)
**Vice Chair:** Valerie Brown (D)
**Democrats:** Snyder, T. Friedman
**Republicans:** Pringle, Takasugi
**Consultant:** Dion Aroner
**Secretary:** Aurora Wallin
446 Capitol Building 445-0664
**Meets:** 1st & 3rd Wed, 9:00 AM, Rm 447

**Insurance**
**Chair:** Juanita McDonald (D)
**Vice Chair:** Vacant
**Democrats:** Archie-Hudson, Bornstein, Margolin, Moore, O'Connell, Sher
**Republicans:** Horcher, Johnson, Mountjoy, Statham
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**Republicans:** Conroy, Goldsmith, Horcher, Statham, Weggeland
**Consultant:** Rubin Lopez
**Counsel:** Mikki Bako Sorenson
**Secretaries:** Millie Anderson, Nancy Mansfield
6005 Capitol Building 445-4560
**Meets:** 2nd & 4th Wed, 9:00 AM, Rm 444

**Labor and Employment**
**Chair:** Terry Friedman (D)
**Vice Chair:** Betty Karnette (D)
**Democrats:** Archie-Hudson, Escutia, Klehs, Solis, Tucker
**Republicans:** Alby, Goldsmith, Hoge, Takasugi
**Consultant:** Patrick Henning
**Secretary:** Kelly Douglas
2141 Capitol Building 445-2657
**Meets:** 1st & 3rd Wed, 1:30 PM, Rm 447

**Local Government**
**Chair:** Mike Gotch (D)
**Vice Chair:** Valerie Brown (D)
**Democrats:** Cannella, Hannigan, Murray, Napolitano
**Republicans:** Frazee, Pringle, Takasugi
**Consultant:** Randy Pestor
**Secretaries:** Dixie Petty, Sonja Oehler
3120 Capitol Building 445-6034
**Meets:** 2nd & 4th Wed, 1:30 PM, Rm 437

**Natural Resources**
***Chair:** Byron Sher (D)*
**Vice Chair:** Mike Gotch (D)
**Democrats:** Bates, Bowen, T.Friedman, Margolin, Solis, Tucker
**Republicans:** Allen, Haynes, Hoge, Knowles, Richter
**Consultant:** Kip Lipper
**Secretary:** Ann E. Boone
2136 Capitol Building 445-9367
**Meets:** Mon, 1:30 PM, Rm 444

**Public Employees, Retirement and Social Security**
**Chair:** Sal Cannella (D)
**Vice Chair:** Richard K. Rainey (R)
**Democrats:** Baca, Connolly, Escutia, Napolitano, Tucker
**Republicans:** Andal, Bowler, Morrow
**Consultant:** Cori Evans Ayala
**Secretary:** Maxine Bennett
5155 Capitol Building 322-4320
**Meets:** 1st & 3rd Wed, 9:00 AM, Rm 444

**Public Safety**
**Chair:** Bob Epple (D)
**Vice Chair:** Paula Boland (R)
**Democrats:** Bates, Burton, Gotch, Lee, Umberg
**Republican:** Rainey
**Consultants:** Cary Rudman
***Secretary:** Janice A. Stork*
1021 O St #A19 445-3268
**Meets:** Tues, 9:00 AM, Rm 126

**Revenue and Taxation**
***Chair:** Johan Klehs (D)*
**Vice Chair:** Charles Quackenbush (R)
**Democrats:** Caldera, Connolly, Cortese, B.Friedman, Hannigan, Isenberg
**Republicans:** Ferguson, Johnson, Pringle
***Consultant:** Andrew Meyers*
**Secretary:** Irene Frausto
2013 Capitol Building 322-3730
**Meets:** Mon, 1:30 PM, Rm 447

**Rules**
**Chair:** John Burton (D)
**Vice Chair:** Ross Johnson (R)
**Democrats:** Alpert, Escutia, Polanco, Tucker
**Republicans:** Harvey, Mountjoy, Nolan
**Chf Admn. Off:** Bob Connelly
**Secretary:** Kaye Packard
3016 Capitol Building 445-8173
**Meets:** *Mon, Thur upon call, Rm 3162*

**Televising the Assembly**
**Chair:** Stan Statham (R)
**Democrat:** Caldera, Katz, Moore
**Republican:** Woodruff
**Consultant:** Tom Barrett
**Secretary:** Paula Rossetto
4098 Capitol Building 445-7266
**Meets:** Mon, 4:00 PM, Rm 127

**Transportation**
**Chair:** Richard Katz (D)
**Vice Chair:** Martha M. Escutia (D)
**Democrats:** Costa, Hauser, Karnette, Lee, McDonald, Napolitano, Umberg
**Republicans:** Frazee, Goldsmith, Honeycutt, Knight, McPherson, Weggeland
**Consultant:** Erik Lange
**Secretary:** Alice Livingston
3132 Capitol Building 445-7278
**Meets:** Mon, 1:30 PM, Rm 4202

**Utilities and Commerce**
**Chair:** Gwen Moore (D)
**Vice Chair:** Mickey Conroy (R)
**Democrats:** Alpert, Archie-Hudson, Baca, Bronshvag, Epple, Martinez, Murray, Polanco, Solis
**Republicans:** Boland, Bowler, Mountjoy, Rainey, Takasugi
**Consultant:** Randy Chinn
**Secretary:** Yvonne D. Wilson
2117 Capitol Building 445-4246
**Meets:** Mon, 1:30 PM, Rm 437

**Water, Parks and Wildlife**
**Chair:** Dom Cortese (D)
***Vice Chair:** Vivien Bronshvag (D)*
**Democrats:** Bustamante, Campbell, Cannella, Costa, Hauser, Isenberg
**Republicans:** Andal, Frazee, Harvey, Haynes, Knowles
***Consultant:** Linda Adams*
**Secretary:** Linda Rodriguez
6031 Capitol Building 445-6164
**Meets:** 2nd & 4th Tues, 9:00 AM, Rm 444

**Ways and Means**
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**Republicans:** Allen, Andal, Johnson, Jones, Nolan, Quackenbush, Seastrand, Woodruff
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6026 Capitol Building 445-7082
**Meets:** Wed, 9:00 AM, Rm 4202


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# SENATE STANDING COMMITTEES

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**Agriculture and Water Resources**
**Chair:** Dan McCorquodale (D)
**Vice Chair:** Ruben Ayala (D)
**Democrats:** Calderon, Presley, Thompson
**Republicans:** Craven, Kelley, Lewis, Rogers, Wyman
**Independent:** Kopp
**Consultant:** Mark Hite
**Secretary:** Shirley Smaage
2031 Capitol Building 445-2206
**Meets:** 1st & 3rd Tues, 9:30 AM, Rm 112

**Appropriations**
**Chair:** Bob Presley (D)
**Vice Chair:** Bob Beverly (R)
**Democrats:** Alquist, Dills, Greene, Johnston, Lockyer, Mello, Torres
**Republicans:** Bergeson, Kelley, Leonard
**Independent:** Killea
**Staff Dir:** Karen French
**Secretary:** Georgia Bradley
2206 Capitol Building 445-3284
**Meets:** Mon, 9:30 AM, Rm 4203

**Banking, Commerce and International Trade**
**Chair:** Lucy Killea (I)
**Vice Chair:** Newton Russell (R)
**Democrats:** Boatwright, Calderon, Greene, Johnston, Thompson
**Republicans:** Beverly, Hurtt, Kelley, Wyman
**Consultant:** Terry J. Miller
**Secretary:** Carol Thomas
2193 Capitol Building 445-6306
**Meets:** 2nd & 4th Wed, 1:30 PM, Rm 3191

**Budget and Fiscal Review**
**Chair:** Alfred Alquist (D)
**Vice Chair:** Tim Leslie (R)
**Democrats:** Boatwright, Calderon, Hart, McCorquodale, Petris, Thompson, Watson
**Republicans:** Hill, Wright
**Independent:** Kopp
**Staff Dirs:** Steve Larson, Patrick Lenz
**Secretary:** Joan M. Flaherty
5013 Capitol Building 445-5202
**Meets:** Thur, 8:30 AM, Rm 4203

**Business and Professions**
**Chair:** Dan Boatwright (D)
**Vice Chair:** John Lewis (R)
**Democrats:** Ayala, Greene, Hart, Marks, McCorquodale, Rosenthal
**Republicans:** Craven, Kelley
**Independent:** Killea
**Consultant:** Jay DeFuria
**Secretary:** Robin Dunn
5046 Capitol Building 445-3435
**Meets:** 2nd & 4th Mon, 1:30 PM, Rm 3191

**Constitutional Amendments**
**Chair:** John Lewis (R)
**Vice Chair:** Alfred Alquist (D)
**Democrats:** Hart, McCorquodale
**Republican:** Maddy
**Consultant:** Wade Teasdale
**Secretary:** Alison Thomas
3074 Capitol Building 445-2802
**Meets:** 2nd & 4th Wed, 1:30 PM, Rm 112

**Education**
**Chair:** Gary Hart (D)
**Vice Chair:** Vacant
**Democrats:** Dills, Greene, Hughes, Johnston, Torres, Watson
**Republicans:** Campbell, Leonard, Wright
**Independent:** Killea
**Consultant:** William D. Whiteneck
**Secretary:** Sandy Malosh
2053 Capitol Building 445-2522
**Meets:** Wed, 9:30 AM, Rm 4203

**Elections and Reapportionment**
**Chair:** Milton Marks (D)
**Vice Chair:** William Craven (R)
**Democrats:** Boatwright, Lockyer, Rosenthal, Torres
**Republican:** Beverly
**Consultant:** Darren Chesin
**Secretary:** Deborah Ciarla
5051 Capitol Building 445-2601
**Meets:** 1st & 3rd Wed, 9:30 AM, Rm 3191

**Energy and Public Utilities**
**Chair:** Herschel Rosenthal (D)
**Vice Chair:** Newton Russell (R)
**Democrats:** Alquist, Greene, Hart, Hayden, Hughes, Peace, Torres
**Republican:** Johannessen, Wyman
**Independent:** Killea
**Consultant:** Michael Shapiro
**Secretary:** Patricia J. Stearns
2035 Capitol Building 445-9764
**Meets:** 2nd & 4th Tues, 1:30 PM, Rm 112

**Governmental Organization**
**Chair:** Ralph Dills (D)
**Vice Chair:** Ken Maddy (R)
**Democrats:** Alquist, Greene, Hughes, Lockyer, Mello, Rosenthal, Torres
**Republicans:** Beverly, Hill
**Consultant:** Stephen Hardy
**Secretary:** Billie Williams
5048 Capitol Building 445-1193
**Meets:** Tues, 9:30 AM, Rm 3191

**Health and Human Services**
**Chair:** Diane Watson (D)
**Vice Chair:** Frank Hill (R)
**Democrats:** Calderon, Hughes, Mello, Rosenthal, Thompson
**Republicans:** Bergeson, Leslie, Wright
**Consultant:** John Miller
**Secretary:** Geri La Duke
2191 Capitol Building 445-5965
**Meets:** Wed, 1:30 AM, Rm 4203

**Industrial Relations**
**Chair:** Patrick Johnston (D)
**Vice Chair:** Bill Leonard (R)
**Democrats:** Greene, Lockyer, Petris, Rosenthal
**Republican:** Bergeson
**Consultant:** Neil Burraston
**Secretary:** Nancy P. Fox
4039 Capitol Building 445-1237
**Meets:** 2nd & 4th Wed, 9:30 AM, Rm 2040

**Insurance, Claims and Corporations**
**Chair:** Art Torres (D)
**Vice Chair:** Frank Hill (R)
**Democrats:** Johnston, McCorquodale, Peace, Rosenthal, Watson
**Republicans:** Lewis, Rogers, Russell
**Independent:** Killea
**Consultant:** Robert Fredenburg
**Secretary:** Jolyne Budmark
2080 Capitol Building 445-0825
**Meets:** 1st & 3rd Wed, 1:30 PM, Rm 112

**Judiciary**
**Chair:** Vacant
**Vice Chair:** Tim Leslie (R)
**Democrats:** Calderon, Marks, Petris, Presley, Roberti, Torres, Watson
**Republicans:** Hurtt, Wright
**Staff Dir:** Gregory Schmidt
**Secretary:** Linda Hashimoto-Myers
2032 Capitol Building 445-5957
**Meets:** Tues, 1:30 PM, Rm 4203

**Legislative Ethics**
**Chair:** Leroy Greene (D)
**Vice Chair:** Bob Presley (D)
**Democrat:** Petris
**Republicans:** Bergeson, Craven, Russell
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**Secretary:** Jeanie Myers
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# LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR

**Feb 25** Last day for bills to be introduced.

**Mar 24** Easter recess begins at the end of the day's session.

**Apr 4** Legislature reconvenes after Easter recess.

**Apr 15** Last day for policy committees to hear and report to fiscal committees fiscal bills introduced in their house.

**May 13** Last day for policy committees to report non-fiscal bills introduced in their house to floor.

**May 20** Last day for policy committee hearings prior to June 6.

**May 27** Last day for fiscal committees to hear and report to the floor bills introduced in their house.

**May 27** Last day for fiscal committees to meet prior to June 6.

**Jun 3** Last day for Assembly to pass Assembly bills or Senate to pass Senate bills.

**Jun 6** Committee meetings may resume.

**Jun 7** 1994 primary election.

**Jun 15** Budget must be passed by midnight.

**Jun 30** Last day for a legislative measure to qualify for the November 8 general election ballot.

**Jul 8** Last day for Assembly policy committees to report Senate fiscal bills to fiscal committees or Senate policy committees to report Assembly fiscal bills to fiscal committees, and last day to hear and report non-fiscal bills to the floor. Summer Recess begins at end of the day's session if budget bill has been enacted.

**Aug 8** Legislature reconvenes from Summer Recess.

**Aug 19** Last day for fiscal committees to meet and to report bills to floor.

**Aug 31** Last day for each house to pass bills.

**Aug 31** Final Recess begins at end of the day's session.

**Sep 30** Last day for governor to sign or veto bills passed by the Legislature on or before Sept. 1 and in his possession after Sept. 1.

**Oct 2** Bills enacted on or before this date take effect on Jan. 1, 1995.

**Nov 8** 1994 general election.

**Nov 30** Constitutional adjournment date.


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# CALIFORNIA'S LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

## INITIAL STEPS BY AUTHOR

### IDEA

Sources of bills: legislators, legislative committees, governor, state and local governmental agencies, business firms, lobbyists, citizens.

### DRAFTING

Formal copy of bill and "layman's digest" prepared by Legislative Counsel.

### INTRODUCTION

Bill submitted by senator or Assembly member. Numbered and read first time. Referred to policy committee by Assembly or Senate Rules Committee. Printed.

## ACTION IN HOUSE OF ORIGIN

### COMMITTEE

Testimony taken from author, proponents and opponents. Typical actions: Do pass; amend and do pass; no action; hold in committee (kill); amend and re-refer to same committee; refer to another committee; send to interim study.
Bills with any fiscal implications, if approved by policy committee, are referred to Appropriations Committee in the Senate and to Ways and Means Committee in the Assembly.

### SECOND READING

Bills given do-pass recommendations are read the second time and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate on a subsequent day.

### FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

Bills are read the third time and debated. A roll-call vote follows. For ordinary bills, 21 votes are needed in the Senate and 41 in the Assembly. For urgency bills and most appropriations measures, 27 and 54 votes are required. If these numbers are not reached, the bill is defeated. Any member may seek reconsideration and a second vote. If passed or passed with amendments, the bill is sent to the second house.

## ACTION IN SECOND HOUSE

### READING

Bill is read the first time and referred to committee by the Assembly or Senate Rules Committee.

### COMMITTEE

Procedures and possible actions are nearly identical to those in the first house.

### SECOND READING

If cleared by committee, the bill is read a second time and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate and vote.

### FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

The procedure is identical to the first house. If a bill is passed without having been amended in the second house, it is sent to the governor's desk. (Resolutions are sent to the secretary of state's office.) If amended in the second house and passed, the measure returns to the house of origin for consideration of amendments.

## RESOLUTION OF TWO-HOUSE DIFFERENCES (IF NECESSARY)

### CONCURRENCE

The house of origin decides whether to accept the second-house amendments. If the amendments are approved, the bill is sent to the governor. If the amendments are rejected, the bill is placed in the hands of a two-house conference committee composed of three senators and three Assembly members.

### CONFERENCE

If the conferees fail to agree, the bill dies. If the conferees present a recommendation for compromise (conference report), both houses vote on the report. If the report is adopted by both, the bill goes to the governor. If either house rejects the report, a second (and even a third) conference committee may be formed.

## THE GOVERNOR

### SIGN OR VETO?

Within 12 days after receiving a bill, the governor may sign it into law, allow it to become law without his signature or veto it. Bill is sent to Secretary of State's office and given a chapter number. A vetoed bill returns to the house of origin for possible vote on overriding the veto. It requires a two-thirds majority of both houses to override. Urgency measures may become effective immediately after signing. Others usually take effect the following January 1st.

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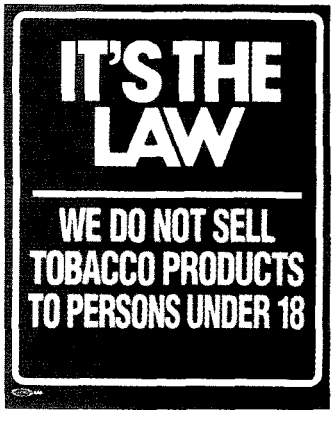
# Philip Morris Doesn't Want Kids To Smoke

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and you're likely to hear more about fiscal and professional "accountability."

Then there is the practical side of reform; in other words, how do you pay for it? The last three years have seen schools fighting just to keep the money guaranteed them by 1988's Proposition 98 school-funding initiative. For the past two years, Governor Wilson has kept education spending just above the Proposition 98 minimum funding level, in part by a series of "loans" against future funding. The CTA has challenged the scheme in court. Although there were no additional cuts in the 1994-95 spending plan, no adjustments were made for inflation or increasing enrollment demand on a system burdened with 150,000 new students who enter state schools annually. The CTA says that's a cut any way you slice it.

Add to this mix the additional complication of an election year. "We have a very politicized election for governor on the horizon, and maybe for superintendent of public instruction," notes Democratic Senator Gary Hart of Santa Barbara, chairman of the Senate Education Committee. "It's a very difficult environment to work in a neutral fashion when everybody is hyper and supercharged."

The rapid pronouncements about school reform that followed the voucher election, and the equally rapid disappearance of this talk once authorities found the body of Petaluma kidnap victim Polly Klaas speak to the ephemeral nature of political destinies.

"He [Wilson] has focused on crime as the tool by which he'll get himself re-elected," said Speaker Brown following the State of the State address. "There may be an attempt to overlook education, but we won't let that happen."

Brown's comments, of course, are viewed by some Republicans as disingenuous, given his own participation in a turf war that has paralyzed recent attempts at school reform from within. The battle itself started during the tenure of former schools chief Bill Honig, who was forced out of office in 1992 after being convicted on conflict-of-interest charges. Honig frequently locked horns with conservative Republican Governor George Deukmejian's appointees to the eight-member State Board of Education. The appointed board challenged the elected schools chief's authority in court and won a decision basically giving it broad latitude to shape not just curriculum but funding priorities as well. The court also gave the board confirmation power over four of the superintendent's appointed assistants, who would serve for a fixed, four-year term and could not be removed by a subsequent superintendent. Thus, the elected superintendent of public instruction was reduced to little more than a cheerleader for education, and when lightning rod Honig was grounded, there was no one left but caretaker David Dawson, Honig's assistant, to run the show.

Wilson tried to fill the slot last spring with state Senator Marian Bergeson, a Newport Beach Republican, but a searing opposition campaign, led by Eastin and orchestrated by Brown, overwhelmed the overmatched nominee. The post has remained empty, filled with the nearly invisible Dawson. Wilson's next proposed appointment to fill the void didn't help fill the "vision gap" — corporate takeover specialist Sigoloff, who was named primarily to serve as a

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| | |
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| February 9 | **Political Law (also Feb. 11 in L.A.)** |
| February 18 | **Budget Process** |
| February 24 | **Lawmaking in California** |
| February 25 | **Advocacy and Committee Protocol** |

### *March Programs*

| | |
|---|---|
| March 2 | **Bill Analysis Workshop** |
| March 9 | **Bill Tracking and Analysis** |
| March 24 | **Lawmaking in California (Santa Ana)** |
| March 25 | **Advocacy and Committee Protocol (Santa Ana)** |

### *April Programs*

| | |
|---|---|
| April 6 | **Bill Analysis Workshop** |
| April 8 | **Election Issues** |
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structural handyman. He conceded no prior knowledge or understanding of public schools and no interest in running for the job this year.

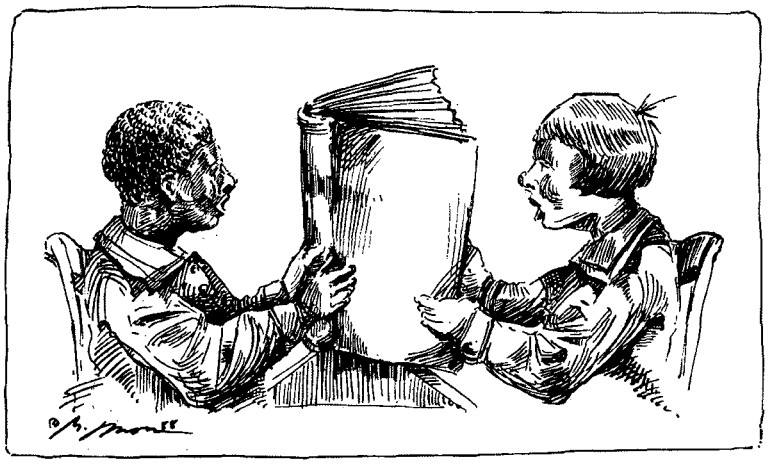

*Illustration by Washington Post Syndicate*

**"Education is a conflict of values. People want different things from the schools and reformers always want something different than what they are getting."**

**Michael Kirst**

It all seems so insurmountable that it isn't hard to see why reform has moved so slowly. In fact, with so many political crosswinds buffeting its docks, what's really remarkable is that schools can make any progress toward improving their quality. Yet, progress has been identified, primarily as a result of the last significant wave of reform. In 1983 the Legislature passed, and Deukmejian signed, Assembly Bill 813. The 214-page law offered 83 separate improvements, including tougher curriculum, broader testing, and a renewed emphasis on the basics. The groundbreaking reform effort, led by Honig and reluctantly agreed to by Deukmejian, was prodded by the release, in April of 1983, of "A Nation At Risk", the political firebomb lobbed by President Ronald Reagan's National Commission on Excellence in Education. The report has been defined by its cataclysmic rhetoric about "a rising tide of mediocrity" in the nation's schools that, if imposed by a foreign country, would be considered "an act of war."


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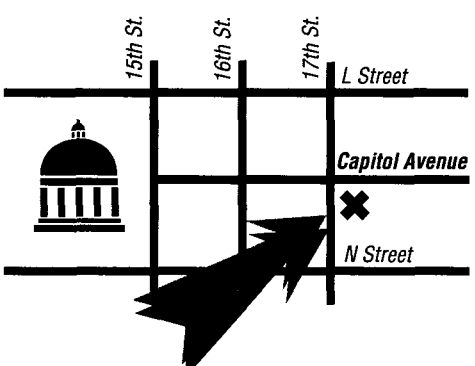


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Although progress has been hampered by the tightening budget screws, measurable improvement has occurred in several areas. The school year was lengthened to 180 days. Textbook protocols were updated, forcing publishers to upgrade the content of textbooks or risk losing out on a share of the lucrative California market. Statewide graduation requirements were implemented along with more vigorous model curriculum standards. Among the most significant achievements is the fact that the statewide dropout rate declined more than 30 percent between 1986 and 1992. Math and science test scores also have stabilized, particularly among middle school and junior high school students.

For those toiling on the ground in education, the most important future reform would be for the state to renew its commitment to the 1983 reforms. "The reforms are working and making a difference," says Susan Verne, a teacher for 20 years in south Sacramento County's Elk Grove School District. Verne's school, Florin High, is a microcosm of the challenges facing public education these days — 29 different languages are spoken among the students and the school has swelled from its design capacity of 1800 to now hold more than 2500 kids. Verne credits AB 813 with helping her classroom adapt to changing times, allowing teachers to move beyond the traditional role of lecturer to become "a facilitator." External resources, such as public television, newspapers, and periodicals, are welcomed into the classroom as supplements to traditional book learning. Verne also points to the holistic approach of the reforms, which emphasize establishing the school as a hub of the community.

"We have attempted to ... involve all of education's stakeholders: teachers, students, parents, business, and community leaders," says Verne. "This attitude wasn't here 10 years ago. When you bring the community into the school, you start to make a difference."

While they concede strides have been made, many education leaders insist schools are a long way from hitting the tape in the race for reform. "Not as much is happening



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as I would like to occur," says Hart.

What *would* Hart like to see happen?

For starters, more charter schools and broader public school choice. Hart has carried legislation in both areas, which share the common theme of introducing a competitive element into education. Charter schools are designed as individual self-contained entities, stripped of many of the more onerous bureaucratic constraints. The goal is to give professionals a chance to test different approaches — one might be strictly college prep, while another might be an arts and performance school. Public school choice goes even further, offering students and parents a chance to cross district boundaries in order to send their children to any school they wish, space permitting.

In the past, Hart's efforts have butted up against the education establishment, especially the CTA. The union, however, softened its opposition to charter schools and has even been less openly hostile to public school choice. Why? According to CTA president Del Weber, policymakers have sought CTA input as the reforms are being developed. "None of the [past] reform efforts have ever taken teachers out of the classroom and asked for teacher input," says Weber. "CTA has only been asked to react and respond."

On a more practical level, however, CTA's new tone may have less to do with a change of heart than a change of circumstances. In surveying its membership, CTA has found that the concerns of teachers extend far beyond salaries, fringe benefits, and protection of collective bargaining — the traditional union bailiwicks. Teachers are also desperately concerned about the conditions in which they operate. When it makes its case to the education summit, CTA will emphasize these aspects of reform, as well as those involving curriculum and funding. "It's in our best interest to have this work," says Weber, "otherwise we're going to have another voucher initiative on the ballot."

Ah, yes: vouchers.

The specter continues to haunt the education community despite having polled barely 30 percent support in last November's special election. True believers in Proposition 174 have remained remarkably undaunted by the magnitude of their defeat and are already loading up for another try. Some are pushing for a quick vote this November; three different voucher initiatives have been submitted to the secretary of state, including one by Terry Moe who, as a senior fellow at Stanford's Hoover Institution, is one of the concept's many fathers. All adhere to the basic concept of Proposition 174, calling for parents to be given a flat dollar amount that could be used to send their kids to the public or private school of their choice.

Moe's reworked plan addresses concerns that 174 didn't. It insures access by setting aside 15 percent of admissions for poor kids; protects Proposition 98 funding guarantees for public schools; and builds in accountability standards for private schools through curriculum, financial disclosure, testing and teacher qualifications. Moe wants to strike again while the iron is hot, insisting the distractions of election-year politics will keep the CTA from dumping the same $10 million spent last year to defeat Proposition 174.

"A quick turnaround is more advantageous for our side," Moe insists.

That view, however, is not shared by many others in the voucher movement, especially those who control the purse strings. "We will be back, but when, we don't know," said Kevin Teasley, who served as the key spokesman for voucher supporters during the campaign. Even Moe, despite his desire for a quick hit, concedes there are practical obstacles to another try this year. Moe, however, believes the very educational establishment that torpedoed vouchers last year will be the key to their eventual revival. "[They've] put out the fire, now they'll move on to other things," he says. Moe also dismisses the planned summit as being "all for show."

While Moe's derision is doubtless colored by his political zeal for the voucher concept, the despairing pessimism he expresses about public education is not so easy to dismiss. Education in California has been inventoried to death, and its flaws — both real and imagined — have been well documented in countless reports by task forces, blue-ribbon commissions and foundations. Yet, all that is offered by policymakers is more studies: an education summit here, an independent analysis there. Meanwhile, as the physicians argue over the right prescription, the patient's condition grows worse. Some suggest that, if the slide continues, education's role as a unifying democratic institution could collapse.

"Education is only one of several ways the state influences where we are going to be in the 21st century," says San Jose-based education consultant Patrick Callan. "If we fail to effectively make this collective investment in our kids, then California may no longer be conducive to being a prosperous and humane place."

**"If we fail to effectively make this collective investment in our kids, then California may no longer be conducive to being a prosperous and humane place."**

**Patrick Callan**

*Illustration by Washington Post Syndicate*



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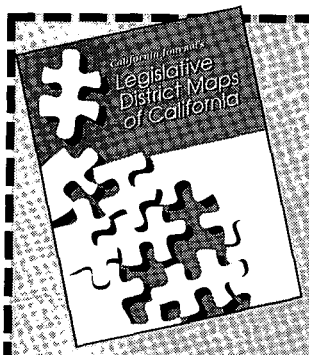


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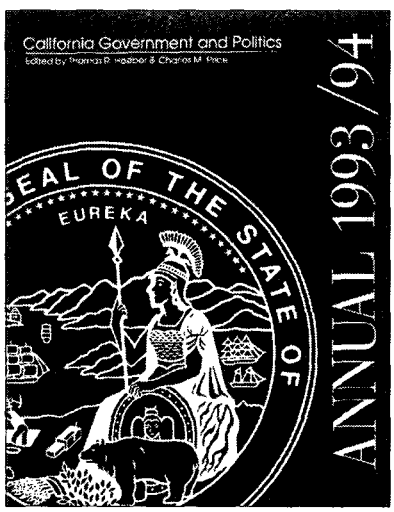


# California Government & Politics ANNUAL 1993-94

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# The Bottom Line

GOVERNMENT FINANCE

By Susan Rasky

## Money from the Feds

Oh, to be a fly on the wall when the policy wonks have left the room and the good ol' boys from California sit down with the good ol' boys from, say, Texas, to sort out the exquisite politics of Governor Pete Wilson's "send the bill to Washington" budget strategy.

Forget for the moment the fundamental question of whether the governor and his new brother in bi-partisanship, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr., have a legitimate case that the feds owe California, Texas and several other large states a pile of dough for providing federally mandated services to legal and illegal immigrants. They do, and for the record, Texas Governor Ann Richards, a Democrat with impressive good ol' boy skills, has long made similar complaints about unfunded federal mandates.

But policy is not the point here, so don't even bother wondering whether Congress will fork over anything but a tiny fraction — if that — of the $2.3 billion Wilson claims is California's due. Ditto the additional $800 million the state is seeking by asking Washington to make the federal matching formula for Medicaid more generous.

Last year, California asked Congress for $1.3 billion and got $324 million. While joining forces with Texas, Illinois, New York, New Jersey and Florida may provide the illusion of increased pressure on Washington this year, it is worth noting that none of these other states is relying anywhere near as much as California on closing expected deficits with illusory federal money. In their public responses to Wilson's 1994-95 budget, Democratic and Republican members of the state's congressional delegation mumble thoughtfully about the importance of making the good fight on California's behalf and then again about the difficulty of extracting $3.1 billion from the federal budget. Off the record, they simply laugh.

All of this was surely well known to both the governor and the speaker before they decided to make common cause in California's fiscal battle with Washington. So the more interesting questions are how this mock budget battle plays into the election politics of 1994, maybe even 1996, and what the mutual benefits are to Wilson and Brown in pursuing it.

Start with the most immediate problem: California is likely to be somewhere between $4 billion and $8 billion in the hole come mid-May when the state lawmakers start looking seriously at the nuts and bolts of the budget. The last thing either the governor or the speaker needs at that point, with the June primary just weeks away, is a messy Sacramento brawl over how to close a large deficit. So much wiser to spend the spring focusing press and public attention on getting Congress to pay up and avoiding unpleasant discussion of painful spending cuts of tax increases that might be offputting to California voters. So much easier, once the June primaries have passed, and less than a month remains for adoption of the state budget, to fuzz up the fiscal problem, roll the state's deficit into the following year and use the fall campaigns to score partisan points on other issues.

Wilson rails about crime and immigration, bashes Congress for irresponsible policies and bets on the come — maybe the California economy picks up enough by the third quarter to generate some revenue and help folks forget that the worst downturn since the Great Depression occurred on his watch. Democratic legislators, meanwhile, rail about crime, education, or whatever else seems appealing and bash Wilson on the economy. Brown spares programs important to Democratic constituencies the worst of the budget ax and ensures that enough of his allies are re-elected to retain the speakership for his final two-year term.

From Wilson's point of view, the strategy has the added advantage of tempering potentially damaging criticism from the other Brown — Kathleen, that is. Brown's ability to make an issue of the phony budget in her gubernatorial campaign would have been constrained to begin with by her obligation as treasurer to sell the fiscal plan to Wall Street. But attacking the governor for instigating the fiscal charade will be all the more difficult with the Democratic Assembly speaker — and presumably the Democratic majority in the Legislature — all happily playing along.

While credit rating agencies tend to be sensitive to budgets rigged with blue smoke and mirrors, even their objections may be muted this year. Of the three major agencies that rate California bonds for investors, Standard and Poors currently has the lowest assessment for the state, A-plus. That's two notches down from the gold-plated, triple-A rating California lost in December 1991. According to Steve Zimmermann, managing director for S&P's western regional office, the current rating already reflects at least some expectation that California will be playing the rolling deficit game for several years.

"You can tolerate more in the A category than you can in triple-A," Zimmermann explains, which loosely translated suggests that even when it becomes absolutely clear the dubious $3 billion from Uncle Sam isn't going to materialize, S&P at least is prepared to be tolerant.

Moody's Investors, which currently rates California bonds at double-A, will have a few pointed questions for state officials about "the reality and reasonableness" of getting $3 billion from the federal government, according to George Leung, Moody's managing director for state ratings. But the key here is when those questions get asked.

None of the rating agencies begin to take California budget machinations seriously until the middle of May, when the Department of Finance issues its economic and fiscal revisions. Even if the state's credit rating were to be lowered as a result of the May revisions, the actual change would be unlikely to occur until budget deliberations were complete — in other words, after the June primary.

And how much would a lower credit rating add to California borrowing costs? Perhaps very little, since the interest rate on any particular bond issue is highly dependent on market conditions at the time of borrowing. If interest rates remain low and investor demand for all state issues continues to outstrip the national supply (both of which now seem likely), California may still be able to sell its bonds at attractive prices.

All in all, it's political poetry, just the kind that those wily members of the Texas congressional delegation would appreciate.



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Illustration by Norm Hines

Illustration by Michael Parks

# Democrats Arlo Smith & Tom Umberg duel for the right to . . . .

## By Danielle Starkey

It's hard to imagine conditions more favorable for Dan Lungren's re-election campaign. The smooth, self-confident attorney general has managed to avoid major gaffes in his first term and, suddenly, public attention is riveted on crime, Lungren's stock in trade. Legislators are stampeding to introduce anti-crime bills, some of which echo those he introduced when he was a Long Beach congressman, and crime hearings are so common they've created a rhetorical mountain range out of the issue. If Lungren can show he's been a tough crime fighter — and Republicans traditionally are given the benefit of the doubt on this issue — it will be difficult to unseat him.

But oddly enough, it is in the public's preoccupation with crime that Lungren's potential opponents see some hope for success. If people perceive that crime has become a big problem on his watch, Lungren could be in trouble. At least that's what the two Democrats, San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith and Garden Grove Assemblyman Tom Umberg, are counting on.

In the aftermath of events such as the July shooting spree in a San Francisco high rise that left eight people dead, and the kidnapping-murder of 13-year-old Polly Klaas, who was snatched from her Petaluma home during a slumber party, Lungren won't have to convince voters that, despite a dip in crime statistics, they feel less secure than they did four years ago. Now it will be up to Smith, who lost to Lungren by less than half a percentage point in 1990, and Umberg, a former federal prosecutor who was elected to the Assembly in 1990, to prove to voters not only that Lungren has been weak on crime, but that they will be stronger.

It won't be easy.

Lungren, 47, had never held public office when he was elected to Congress in 1979. He quickly established a reputation as a law-and-order conservative who nevertheless was able to work with Democratic colleagues. He considers one of his chief accomplishments an anti-crime package that passed in 1984, which introduced controversial asset forfeiture laws for drug traffickers. When California state Treasurer Jesse Unruh died in 1987, then-Governor George Deukmejian named Lungren to complete Unruh's term. But legislative Democrats, concerned about Lungren's conservativism, and



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Illustration by Michael Parks

# . . . challenge Dan Lungren

his ambition, killed the appointment. Among their worries was that Lungren would emerge as the most logical successor to Deukmejian himself in 1990. Lungren is anti-choice and, as a congressman, voted against the creation of a Martin Luther King Jr. holiday; against the Clean Water and Clean Air acts; and against reparations for Japanese-Americans interned in camps during World War II.

The defeat for treasurer may have backfired on the Democrats because Lungren set his sights on becoming attorney general. And the fact is three other attorneys general — Earl Warren, Pat Brown and George Deukmejian — went on to become governor.

Lungren and Smith waged a contentious campaign, and on election day, Smith was ahead by about 29,000 votes. Smith had been the surprise victor in the primary against the better-known, and better-financed Los Angeles District Attorney Ira Reiner. But when absentee ballots were counted, Lungren beat Smith by about 30,000 votes, or .4 percent.

In his first term as attorney general, Lungren pledged "to devote whatever resources were necessary to restore capital punishment," including limiting the number of appeals convicted murderers may use to delay their sentences. He also lobbied hard but unsuccessfully for tougher asset-forfeiture laws, and proposed expanding asset-forfeiture penalties to include the car in which a teenager is sitting if he or she is found illegally possessing a weapon.

While Lungren is pushing crime, the Democratic candidates accuse him of ignoring other aspects of the chief law enforcement officer's job, such as environmental and consumer protection, and civil-rights and antitrust enforcement. They also say he's hidden his conservativism so he can create a broad base for an eventual run for governor. "His people have done an excellent job of keeping him on the shelf," said a long-time Democratic staffer who asked to remain anonymous.

"As attorney general, I don't see where [Lungren's] made any mistakes," added Democratic campaign consultant David Townsend. "I think he's come out as a tough law-and-order attorney general, and that makes him very formidable. He doesn't have a primary opponent, so he can focus his resources on the general [election], and I think his only weakness will be if there is a major top of the ticket landslide [for Democrats in November]."

A Republican consultant who asked not to be identified said that Lungren could be defeated if he doesn't work harder to make himself known to voters. "In a lot of ways, he's been the invisible attorney general. That's not to say he hasn't done a good job, but he's done a poor job of telling people what he's done, and that's hard to understand given that crime has been a high visibility issue in the last few years."

Democratic campaign consultant Larry Sheingold agrees: "Is Dan Lungren vulnerable? I think so. I think a lot of people don't know who he is, and the people who have heard of him don't know anything about him." But, he added, "If it's a good year for Republicans, and a good year for incumbents, then it'll probably be a good year for Dan Lungren."

Sheingold said that Smith, who for 12 years has been San Francisco's district attorney, heads into the primary with some serious weaknesses, among them the challenge of raising enough money to get out a multiple message to voters: "He's got to tell people why they should vote for him and not Umberg; and also why he can beat Lungren when he couldn't beat him last time."

But Smith says the dynamics have changed greatly since 1990. "It's an entirely different race, because [Lungren] now has a record he'll have to defend. And, it's clear that he's going to be out there by himself this time. You'll recall that last time, he had Ronald Reagan making radio commercials for him that ran all over Southern California; Deukmejian made two swings through the state for him and the vice-president was out here helping him raise money. He also had the advantage of an organized Republican Party that outdid the Democrats about seven-to-one when it came to registration, get out the vote, and absentee ballots. That changed last year [when Democrats] registered a million more voters."

Another Democratic consultant who asked to remain anonymous said that if the Democratic candidates — who are both pro-choice — hammer on the choice issue, Lungren could lose. "If I were running the [Democrat's] campaign, I'd make it the centerpiece of the campaign. For a lot of people, that issue is a litmus test."

Smith, 66, finds it hard to conceal his personal dislike for Lungren, who he says has failed to improve public safety, and only wants to be attorney general in order to position himself for a run for governor in 1998. "He's had his chance,"Smith



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said. "Do people feel safer?" Smith says his own qualifications for the job include having been chief of the criminal division under two attorneys general and setting up San Francisco's first consumer fraud and organized crime units.

Lungren won't say whether he plans to run for governor, but in a recent interview noted only that he won't run this year against Wilson. Lungren adds that if some of his crime initiatives have failed, it's only because Democrats have "abused" their power by stacking the Assembly Public Safety Committee with enough Democrats to block votes on bills.

**"If it's a good year for Republicans, and a good year for incumbents, then it'll probably be a good year for Dan Lungren."**

**Larry Sheingold**

Democratic Assemblyman John Burton of San Francisco, who was the lead negotiator with Lungren and other law-enforcement agencies to revise the state's asset-forfeiture law, blames Lungren's intransigence for the fact that the six-year-old law died at the end of last year without a replacement. At the time, Burton was seeking to modify the old law to add due-process protections. A sticking point in negotiations was whether those charged with drug crimes could use up to $10,000 of their seized money to hire a defense lawyer. "To say you can't use your own money is fascism," Burton said at the time.

But Lungren remains firmly in favor of denying those who have been charged but not convicted of a crime to use their money to hire a lawyer. "I believe in due process, too," he insists. "The whole basis for seizing the money is it's been tainted. It's either the product of drug trafficking or it facilitates drug trafficking. You don't allow somebody who has kidnapped somebody for ransom to say, 'Wait a second! I ought to be able to use 10 percent of that ransom money to defend myself.' What a bunch of nonsense."

Still, the death of the old bill represents a strategic defeat for Lungren. "It's a failure in that [Lungren and his negotiators] didn't realize the consequences of their actions," said Burton.

Umberg, 38, is the other candidate who hopes to topple Lungren. A major in the U.S. Army Reserve, who still has a boyish face, Umberg says, "When it comes to the war on crime in California, our attorney general has been AWOL." Voters will choose him over Smith because they're looking for "something newer, something different, than the guy who ran in 1990 and lost," he says. But Umberg, who defeated incumbent Assemblyman Curt Pringle, a Garden Grove Republican in 1990, will have to raise at least $1 million to make himself known to voters, according to sources.

To that end, he's been using his post on the high-profile Assembly Public Safety Committee to full advantage. In January, as chair of the Select Committee on Prison Operations, he called a hearing on the Department of Corrections policy that allows parolees who've violated probation to remain at large. Not only did the hearing put Governor Pete Wilson on the defensive, and, by extension, Dan Lungren, it drew immense coverage.

"Umberg's the more credible [Democratic] candidate," said a Republican source. "He's from Orange County, the heart of Republican territory, and a former criminal prosecutor. Arlo's been tested, and he lost. He's a weak candidate; part of it is he just looks weak. People look at him and say, 'Is this a guy who's going to knock criminal heads?' And he comes from the wrong end of the state — and certainly the wrong city in the state if you want to sell yourself as tough on crime."

Smith, in whose city a mass-murder recently was committed with assault weapons, said Lungren has made California less safe by dragging his feet in adding "look-alike" assault weapons to the list of those banned for sale in California under a 1989 law. "Because of his inaction, this state has been flooded with assault weapons," charges Smith. In the meantime, Smith has written an initiative to ban assault weapons in California for everyone but the military, police, and entertainment industry.

In a direct swipe at his opponent, Lungren replies that the only people who say he's dragged his feet are those "who don't understand the law." He says that three months after he took office, he put the Colt Sporter on the list, "But we were immediately met with two legal challenges questioning the constitutionality of the [state] law." A judge ruled that the law was constitutional last December, but in the meantime, "the provision that would allow us to immediately have it suspended from sales was not put into effect." Lungren said his office decided not to add more guns to the list until the court challenges were resolved because he didn't want to encourage a run on sales. "When we announced we were going after the Colt Sporter — boom, sales went up."

Smith said that just because somebody challenges the constitutionality of a statute doesn't mean the attorney general should stop enforcing that statute. "Five years ago, when [the Legislature] made extensive amendments to the rape statute ... we did not stop enforcing the rape statutes," he said.

Townsend, the Democrat consultant, criticized his party for not finding more serious challengers to Lungren. "If Democrats had any organizational ability, they would be finding a candidate who had the ability to take out Lungren. He is the only Republican that presents a long-term threat [to a Democratic governor] that I can see."

The issue of which Democrat will move against Lungren this November will be settled on June 7, when Democrats vote in a statewide primary. With the Umberg and Smith campaigns beginning to heat up, Lungren has the luxury of sitting on the sidelines, building his treasury and watching the Democratic fireworks. Umberg and Smith have the more difficult task of running simultaneously against each other — and against Lungren.


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# Washington PERSPECTIVE

By Larry Liebert

## Health care and California

The Great Health Care Debate of 1994 began before the year was half a day old. The competing visions were articulated on New Year's Day in President Bill Clinton's weekly radio address and in the Republican response presented by Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole.

"MILLIONS OF AMERICANS, EVEN THOSE WITH GOOD health insurance, must live in fear of losing their health coverage. Another two million Americans lost their insurance in 1993," Clinton said. "Our health care reform plan is a guaranteed system of private insurance that will cover every American. We'll maintain the health care system in private hands, improve the quality of health care, increase the choices you have as a consumer and protect the doctor-patient relationship."

Clinton has staked the domestic legacy of his administration on this conviction: In an era of tight resources and contempt for government initiatives, Americans are so fed up with the costs and uncertainties of health care that they are ready to brave the costs and uncertainties of a wholesale federal reform of the medical system. The promise of health coverage "that can never be taken away" is seen by the administration as a sales-clincher that can propel the legislation past all the doubts, complexities and interest groups in its way.

In a fundamental sense, Clinton has already won in his effort to force change because nobody in Washington is defending the health care status quo. Rather, Republicans and conservative Democrats are insisting that they can come up with changes that will be less costly, less bureaucratic and less disruptive.

"Let's resolve to preserve the best of the best health care system in the world now available to Americans but make health care more accessible and affordable with reforms based on free market principles that preserve the quality and choice Americans have come to expect," Dole said in his radio response. "The president, Democrats and Republicans have all proposed health care reform plans. None currently has the needed support to become law. To keep this New Year's resolution, we'll need a different plan — taking the best ideas, if any, from all the proposals, but without price controls, employer mandates, mandatory health care alliances and massive overdoses of government control."

Not surprisingly, Dole's little list of options to be excluded from health care includes the fundamentals of Clinton's plan:

- Clinton believes that the nation cannot afford a health care package without some type of price controls, although the administration has settled for imposing controls indirectly through caps on insurance rates.
- He maintains that employer mandates — requiring business owners to insure all workers — is the only practical way to finance a revamped system. Clinton's plan promises discounts to cushion the impact on the smallest businesses, and he argues that the new system will save money for the many businesses that already provide health insurance for their workers. But critics say it's an anti-business tax that will only set back job creation where it's most needed — in California, for example. "What good does it do to have a system where you insist an employer provide this health care if in fact you drive the employer out of business?" Governor Pete Wilson, an opponent of Clinton's plan, has asked.
- And the president believes that the new system requires an entirely new administrative creature to run health care at the regional level. This new bureaucratic hybrid, the health alliance, would collect premiums, police quality and negotiate prices with health care providers.

The alliance idea grew from health care purchasing cooperatives. The biggest of these group purchasers of health benefits is the California Public Employees Retirement System (CalPERS), which negotiates favorable insurance rates for 900,000 state workers. But that's still a far cry from requiring virtually every worker in the country (except those whose big companies are self-insured) to pay premiums to such an alliance. Each state would decide how many alliances to create. The Clinton administration envisions up to 10 for California. But the administration also envisions each alliance being run by a board dominated by thoughtful guardians of the medical consumer. It's at least as likely that such state-governed boards will become places to park political cronies and special-interest representatives.

Politically, some members of Congress go into this year's health debate with clear-cut positions: Hard-line conservatives view any increased federal role as socialism and want to go no further than offering some tax breaks for health insurance. Hard-line liberals insist no reform will really bring universal coverage short of full nationalized health care, known these days as a "single payer" system.

In the California congressional delegation, two members can be expected to have leading role in shaping the legislation and both are liberals: Henry Waxman of Los Angeles and Pete Stark of the East Bay. A longtime champion of the Medicaid health program for the poor, Waxman has protested that Clinton's plan appears to provide universal coverage for the middle class partly by squeezing funding for Medicaid and for the Medicare program that serves the elderly, blind and disabled.

Although Waxman can be a dogged advocate, he also is a political pragmatist who ultimately can be expected to help push the president's program. The White House has less reason to be confident of loyalty from Stark.

STARK AT ONE POINT DERIDED IRA MAGAZINER, the administration's health care strategist, as a Rasputin, and he recently told the *New York Times*, "I don't believe the president's plan is workable in a technical sense. The costs will make it more unattractive. It will take major changes to accomplish his laudable goal of universal coverage. I don't believe that there will be mandatory alliances...."

A Stark associate insisted that the congressman is only trying to rescue Clinton's plan from fatal flaws, "to take the keys away from a drunken driver." But Stark is such a champion of Medicare that his politically implausible solution is to put everybody in the country into that federalized system.


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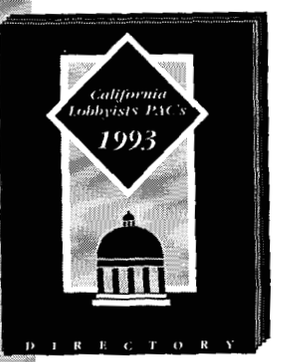


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